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Population Geography of the Refugee Camps in the West Bank

by
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To my parents, my wife Rima and both my children,
for the love of the former, and the "patience" of
the latter without which this thesis might not
have been finished.

Abstract

This thesis deals with the demography and population geography of the West Bank refugee camps, and comprises an introduction, 12 chapters and a conclusion. It is the first thesis to be written on the population of the West Bank refugee camps. It is based both on the limited data puplished by UNRWA, the Israelis, and on the detailed information obtained by the author in 1987. It is enriched by the author's unstructured observation of Palestinian refugee camps over several years.

The introduction deals with the motives for undertaking the study, its structure, and the sample survey carried out by the author. It seeks to fill a gap in the demographic and geographic literature, to investigate the nature of the refugee camps and analyse the factors affecting it since 1948, and to understand the present conditions of the refugee camps population. The second chapter is devoted to the geopolitical developments which led to the emergence of Israel and the Palestinian refugees, the distribution of the latter and their growth. The next four chapters are dedicated to the spatial distribution of the refugee camps in the West Bank, the origins of their population and their choice of camp, UNRWA and its services to the refugees living in camps, and the housing conditions in these camps. These chapters also serve as a background for the rest of the thesis.

The following three chapters are dedicated to the refugee camps population growth; fertility, mortality and emigration which has had the greatest impact in shaping the size, growth and the structure of the population over the years. The next four chapters are devoted to the population structure; age-sex, marriage, economic, and educational status. A closing chapter summarizes the consequences of long-term camp confinement, and illustrates the fact that any serious solution to the refugee camps problems and those of their population depends mainly on future political developments in the Middle East.

Acknowledgement

I would like to extend my thanks and gratitude to Professor John C. Dewdney, my supervisor, for the effort he made throughout his supervision of this thesis. I am indebted to him for his invaluable guidance.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims and Organization of the Study:

The primary objective of this study is to provide a geographic and demographic analysis of the population living in the refugee camps of the West Bank. In specific terms, the aim is first of all to fill a gap in the literature. While a number of studies have from time to time been published concerning the distribution and growth of the Palestinian population as a whole or of the Palestinian refugees as a group, none has appeared which deals specifically with the West Bank refugee camps. This thesis can therefore claim to break new ground as being the first to be written on the population of the West Bank refugee camps, adding to the very small amount of materials which has been published concerning Palestinian refugee camps and, hopefully, providing a basis for more detailed studies in the future.

The study is not confined entirely to population matters but seeks also to investigate the nature of the camps themselves and the factors which have affected them since 1948. Thus it deals with such matters as the factors affecting their establishment and distribution, their physical characteristics and housing conditions, as well as the demographic and socio- economic characteristics of their populations. The West Bank refugee camps, with their inadequate housing, health and other public services, their unemployment and their educational problems, are a product of political events over the past 40 years and present conditions can only be understood against an historical background.

Following this introductory chapter, therefore, Chapter Two provides a background study of the population geography of the Palestinian refugees, covering geopolitical developments and problems and the distribution and growth of the Pales-

tinian population as a whole. It considers the various political events which influenced the status of Palestinian refugees, their numbers, movements, growth and distribution, making comparisons between the Palestinians in general and the Palestinian refugees specifically. Chapter Three deals with the spatial distribution of the camps' refugees, population density, the camps' locations and the factors influencing their distribution in the West Bank. Chapter Four deals with UNRWA and the services it provides for refugees living in the camps as an indication of the distinctive situation under which the refugees live and the distinctive nature of the camps as settlements. The Fifth Chapter deals with the housing conditions in these camps, considering the role of UNRWA in providing dwellings for the refugees, and covering housing types and the materials used, ownership, housing density in the camps, and household facilities and equipment. The population of the refugee camps, their origins, choice of camp, and their urban or rural background are discussed in Chapter Six. These first six chapters thus serve as a background to the remaining seven chapters which deal primarly with demographic aspects.

Chapter Seven deals with patterns of fertility in the West Bank refugee camps, its levels and the factors affecting these levels. Mortality, its levels and causes, together with population change, are examined in Chapter Eight. Chapter Nine is concerned with emigration from the West Bank camps, covering the timing and direction of movements, their motives and the age-sex composition, marital status, economic composition and educational status of the migrants. Chapter Ten deals with the age and sex composition of the camps' residents, Chapter 11 with their marital status, age at marriage and choice of partners. Aspects of economic composition and employment are covered in Chapter 12 and educational status and associated matters in Chapter 13.

Throughout the study, comparisons are made between the data available from a variety of sources -Israeli, Jordanian, UNRWA and PLO- and those derived

from the author's own sample survey carried out in 1987 (see below, section 1.2). Wherever possible, comparisons are also made between the West Bank refugee camps and those in Syria, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon and Jordan.

A variety of difficulties were encountered throughout the preparation of this study. By far the most important proved to be the absence of a complete and reliable data base covering the West Bank refugee camps population. The basic source for any study of Palestinian refugees are the statistics published by UNRWA, but these are widely recognized as inadequate, faulty and incomplete. At the time of its establishment, UNRWA inherited lists of refugees from its predecessor, the UNRPR, rather than preparing new lists of its own. The rolls inherited by UNRWA included unknown numbers of families who, by UNRWA's definition, did not qualify as refugees or were duplicate registrants. In addition, UNRWA has experienced difficulties in operating its services to the Palestinian refugees, since the organization lacks territorial authority and its activities are often viewed with suspicion by the refugees themselves. Thus, for example, the cooperative attempt by the Agency and the Jordanian government in 1950-51 to carry out a census of refugees yielded unsatisfactory results, while subsequent investigations by the Agency were halted by the Jordanian government in 1953 as a result of the intense hostility of the refugees who feared that changes to the list of registered refugees would deny them the basic right of repatriation (Buehrig, 1971). Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that there should be problems regarding the amount of data available and the quality of data based on UNRWA registration lists (Weller, 1986), a situation which is discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters. In addition, UNRWA statistics refer only to registered refugees, thus excluding non-refugee inhabitants of the camps and hindering the study of the refugee camp population as a whole.

Turning to the national statistics of the countries responsible for the West Bank -Jordan prior to 1967 and Israel thereafter- we find that neither source provides

adequate information for the study of the refugee camps population. Jordanian data on the population of the West Bank prior to 1967 distinguish neither refugees nor refugee camps; similarly -with the sole exception of the census carried out in September 1967- Israeli sources fail to give figures specific to the refugees whether they are living inside or outside the West Bank camps. Such studies as have been made of the Palestinian refugee population have been based almost entirely on UNRWA data and rarely identify the refugees living in the camps. Further complications arise from the conflicting definitions which exist of the term 'refugee', particularly between UNRWA and the Israeli authorities (see Chapter 2).

In the face of these difficulties, the author had no alternative but to conduct an extensive sample survey of the population of the refugee camps in order to supplement the inadequate data available from UNRWA and other published sources. Thus the discussion in Chapters Two, Three and Four of this thesis, which deal with Palestinian refugees in general, the distribution of the refugee camps in the West Bank and the services provided by UNRWA in those camps, is based on available published information. Chapters 5 to 13, which analyse the population of the camps, housing conditions therein and the fertility, mortality, migration, age and sex composition, marital status, economic composition and educational attainment of the camps' inhabitants, are based almost entirely on the data collected in the 1987 sample survey.

1.2 The 1987 Sample Survey of the West Bank Refugee Camps Population:

As already indicated, the inadequacy of both UNRWA and Israeli data necessitated a large-scale sample survey, which was carried out with the aid of students from An-Najah National University and the Kalandia Institute in June and July 1987. It was focused especially on camp, house, socio-economic and demographic characteristics, inorder to ascertain some of the consequences of the 1948 movement

of Palestinian refugees to the West Bank camps.

The West Bank is divided into eight Sub-districts and the initial decision was to include one camp from each of these. The sample was also chosen to be representative, as much as possible, of various sizes and at least one of the eight camps was chosen from each of the size groups shown in Table 1.1. At District level, the sample was meant to reflect the varying number of camps in each District. From Nablus, where there are seven camps, three were selected, and from Jerusalem, with 11, four were selected. In Hebron District, where there are only two camps, the larger one was selected.

Table 1.1

Size and Location of the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1986

Size	Nablus			Jerusalem				Hebron
	Nablus	Tulkarm	Jenin	Jerusalem	Ramallah	Bethlehm	Jerich	
less than 2000					D*	Be	E*	
							Nu	
2000-3999	No.1					A	Aq	Fa
4000-5999	F	N*		S	Am			Ar*
				K*	Ja			
6000-7999						Dh*		
8000-9999	As	T	J*					
10000+	B*							

* selected camp.

A: Aida
Am: Am'ari
Aq: Aqbat Jabr
Ar: Al Arrub
As: Asker
B: Balata
Be: Beit Jibrin
D: Deir Ammar
Dh: Dheisheh
E: Ein el Sultan
F: Fara'a
Fa: Al Fawwar
J: Jenin
Ja: Jalazone
K: Kalandia
N: Nur Shams
Nu: Nu'eima
S: Shu'fat
T: Tulkarm

The specific camps were selected randomly, though this selection was subject to certain constraints. In the first place, to carry out the survey successfully, it was essential that each sample camp should be the home of one of the students employed on the survey. In the case of Jericho Sub-district, the camp first selected -Aqbat Jabr- was replaced by Ein el Sultan when no student from the former could be found. Nu'eima - the third camp in this Subdistrict- was ruled out since it had been deserted by its population since 1986. According to UNRWA, the Nu'eima camp had only 21 refugees in 1984.

Assuming the total population of the 8 selected camps to be as estimated by UNRWA in 1986; about 46.1% of the total camps populatin (Table 1.2 and Table 3.7) and applying the average household size for the West Bank as a whole at 6.9 persons (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986) produces an estimated total of 6169 households in the camps. It was decided to survey a sample of approximately 10% -627 households- from the eight camps. This is estimated to represent some 4.6% of the total households in all the refugee camps of West Bank. These 627 households proved to have a combined population of 5151.

In order to select the households in the sample, a preliminary visit was made to each of the eight selected camps. On this occasion, a count was made of the number of dwelling quarters in each section of the camp. Within each section, approximately 10% of the households were selected systematically to provide the total sample for the camp.

The reduction of suspicion among the refugees was an essential requirement for the research, therefore, the author decided to depend only on refugee students, and selected only those who were usually resident in one of the eight camps in the sample. Confidence was increased by telling the respondent that any information he gives is confidential, to be seen only by a Palestinian lecturer of An-Najah National

University. The sample survey covers all those households selected from these 8 refugee camps. The term 'household' is used here to describe a unit consisting of one or more persons occupying one house of which the members share their food and other like requirements. The members may consist of the father, mother, children and any married sons, their families, and any other relatives who are living with the family.

Table 1.2

Selected Households in the Refugee Camps-

West Bank, for the 1987 Sample Survey

Subdistrict	Camp	Population 1986	Number of Households	%	Sample Households Collected
Nablus	Balata	11,800	1710	27.7	171
Jenin	Jenin	8,532	1237	20.1	124
Tulkarm	Nur Shams	4,406	639	10.4	72
Jerusalem	Kalandia	4,968	720	11.7	70
Ramallah	Deir Ammar	1,213	176	2.8	21
Bethlehem	Dheisheh	6,264	908	14.7	91
Jericho	Ein el Sultan	0,611	89	1.4	9
Hebron	Al Arrub	4,776	692	11.2	69
Total		42,570	6169	100.0	627

Source: United Nations, 1986.

The questionnaire, an English translation of which appears in Appendix I, consisted of 151 questions organized into four sections covering (i) the Camps, (ii) Households and housing (iii) Individuals and (iv) Migrants.

(i) The camps: the first section of the questionnaire covers the characteristics of the camps themselves, dealing with their size and extent, their establishment and administration, communications and services. All these have been affected by the supposedly temporary nature of UNRWA and that organization's tasks and financial constraints, as well as the attitudes and policies of the Jordanian and Israeli governments towards the camps and their inhabitants.

(ii) Households and housing: Housing conditions in the refugee camps are still noticeably affected by the supposedly temporary nature of the camps, the available land area, the services provided by UNRWA and the economic circumstances of the refugees, both at the time of their arrival and in subsequent years. This section of the questionnaire sought information on date of arrival and place of origin of camp households, reasons for choice of camp, the type and ownership of the households' accommodation and their amenities and domestic equipment, providing a picture of the circumstances under which the inhabitants live some 40 years after the establishment of the camps.

(iii) Individuals: The third section collected data on individuals, including their age, sex, marital status, fertility, mortality, economic status and educational attainment. All these demographic and socio-economic attributes have been influenced by the past and present conditions of the refugee camps population, which are largely a product of political developments in Palestine.

(iv) Migration: The fourth and final section of the questionnaire covered migration; its volume, type, direction, causes and characteristics. The same dominant factors as operated with the bulk of the West Bank refugee camps residents have also

affected emigrants from these camps.

Interviewing the heads of households was undertaken by the author with the assistance of refugee students of An-Najah National University and the Kalandia Institute, who were usually resident in one of the 8 camps in the sample. Prior to the survey, the students were given three days' training in the administration of the questionnaire, which included detailed discussion of the terms used. Four more days before starting interviewing, a random 5 households in each of the 8 sample camps were selected for a pilot study to examine the ability of respondents to answer the questionnaire, and to give more chance to the employed students to obtain practical experience on the nature of the survey. During the interviewing most of the respondents were co-operative, and the questionnaires were checked by the author directly after the interviewing. They were then translated on to the computer data entry forms, and kept in files in Durham University Computer Centre. The statistical package for the social sciences (SPSSX) was utilized in at all stages of data processing, crosstabulation and analysis.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES

2.1 Introduction:

The territory traditionally known as Palestine occupies the southern part of the eastern Mediterranean coastlands. With a total area of some 27,009 sq.km it extends from the border with Lebanon in the north (lat 33 15" N) to the Gulf of Aqaba in the south (lat 29 30" N), a distance of some 400 km; its east-west extent, however, is only about 70-100 km, from the Jordan rift valley (long 35 40" E) to the Mediterranean shore (long 34 15" E). It occupies an important geopolitical position, bounded on all sides by Arab states -Lebanon and Syria in the north, Jordan in the east and Egypt in the south- but itself inhabited by both Arabs and Jews and thus the scene of long-continued conflict between these two groups.

2.2 The Political Map of Palestine:

The capture of Jerusalem by British forces led by General Allenby on December 11, 1917, marked the end of 400 years of Ottoman rule and 30 years of British rule began. Following Turkish withdrawal at the end of Word War I, Palestine took on only a semi-independent status, and was administered by the British under a mandate from the League of Nations between July,1922 and May,1948.

On November 2 ,1917, the Zionist Organization obtained the British government's agreement (the Balfour Declaration) to the establishment of a "national home" for the Jews in Palestine. The years of British rule up to May 15, 1948 witnessed the establishment of an infrastructure and the economic and political conditions needed to secure the creation of the Jewish "national home" in Palestine, and also witnessed a growing struggle between the Palestinians and the successive waves

of Jewish immigrants.

Following the Partition Resolution, 181 (11) of 29 November 1947, expressed as a recommendation by the U.N.General Assembly, the Arab-Israeli conflict intensified, leading to the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. Under the Armistice Agreements between Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries -Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon- between February and July 1949, Palestine was divided into three parts: Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The results of the 1949 Armistice Agreement were very different from those intended under the U.N. partition plan of 1947 (see Figure 2.1). The latter divided Palestine into six principal parts, three of which (53.2% of the total area) were reserved for the "Jewish State", and the other three with the "enclave of Jaffa" (46%) for the "Arab State", while Jerusalem and its environs were to be an "International Zone" administered by the United Nations (Ennab, 1979). The figures given for the distribution of the settled population in the two proposed states are as follows: the "Jewish State" was to comprise 498,000 Jews and 497,000 Arabs; the "Arab State" was to include 725,000 Arabs and only 10,000 Jews. The rest of the Arabs (105,000) and the Jews (100,000) were to be in the "International Zone" of Jerusalem (United Nations, 1947).

As a result of the 1948 War, and by the Armistice Agreements of 1949, the "Arab State" lost more than 52% of the total area reserved by the partition plan, while the "Jewish State" gained about 45.5% above the original area reserved by the partition plan, thus achieving about 77.5% of the total area of Palestine or about 20,922 sq.km., and became known as Israel. The remaining two parts of Palestine, which later came to be known as the "West Bank" and the "Gaza Strip", or about 22% of the total area of Palestine, came under the administration of the Jordanian and Egyptian governments respectively. Thus, the main intention of the U.N. partition

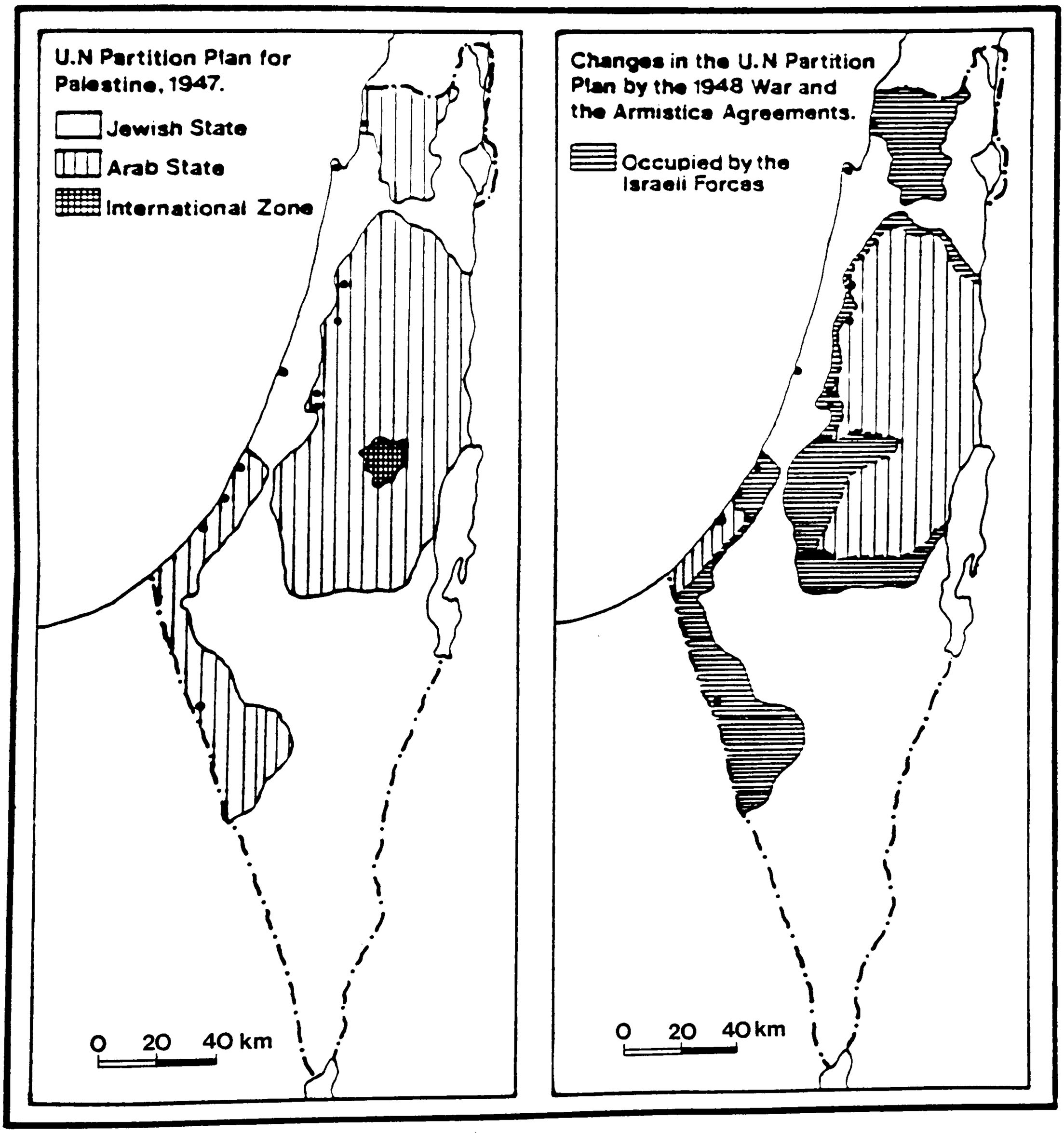


Fig 2.1
Source: Khalidi, 1971.

plan, namely the division of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab States, was negated by the events of 1948- 1949; the Jewish state of Israel came into being (with a territory much larger than suggested by the U.N.) but no Arab state was created (Ennab, 1979).

2.3 West Bank as a Political Term:

As part of pre-1948 Palestine, the so called "West Bank" formed the main hilly region of the country, lying on the eastern part of Palestine between the eastern edge of the coastal plain and the Jordan river, stretching from the Eben Amer plain in the north southward to the northern edge of the Negev. Much of the West Bank is relatively poor territory. Its total area is about 5560 sq.km. of which the Hilly Region occupies 86.4%, while the Gohr or the Jordan rift valley forms the remaining 13.6% of the total area (Ennab, 1979).

Within a year of the Armistice Agreement between Israel and Jordan on April 1949, the main hilly region of Palestine had been annexed to Transjordan in April 1950, the two areas together forming the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. It later became known as the "West Bank" to distinguish it from Transjordan or the East Bank of the Kingdom. After that, and as a result of the second Arab-Israeli War in June 1967, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip became, and still are, in addition to the Golan Hights of Syria, occupied territories held by the Israeli forces, as were the Sinai peninsula of Egypt (an occupation considered illegal by U.N.Resolution 242).

2.4 The Population of Palestine before 1948:

Prior to dealing with the current numbers and distribution of Palestinian Refugees in the Middle East, it would be useful to examine the size of the total Palestinian population before the creation of the State of Israel on May 15, 1948.

As soon as adequate control over Palestine had been achieved, the British Mandate Authorities conducted the first official census of Palestine in December 1922. This recorded a total population of 757,112, of whom 673,292 or about 89% were Arabs, and 83,820 or about 11% were Jewish (Government of Palestine, 1922).

In December 1931, the British authorities conducted a second census in the country, which was , unfortunately , the last simultaneous official enumeration of the whole of Palestine . This recorded a total population of 1,035,821 . Arabs numbered 861,211 (83.1%) an increase of 27.9%, while the number of Jews had doubled to reach 174,610 or about 16.8% of the total (Government of Palestine, 1933). This rapid growth of the Jewish population was due very largely to immigration from abroad, whereas the growth of the Arab population of Palestine was almost entirely due to natural increase (Abu Lughod, 1973). Later estimates take off in different directions from the 1931 base, as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Population of Palestine in 1947 & 1948

Various Estimates

Estimates	persons			Per cent		
	Total	Jews	Arabs	Total	Jews	Arabs
a) Gov. of Palestine1947	1,908,775	589,341	1,319,434	100	30.9	69.1
b) Rowley, 1947	1,933,673	614,239	1,319,434	100	31.8	68.2
c) Maswadeh, May 1948	2,158,400	650,000	1,508,400	100	30.1	69.9

Sources: Derived from:
a) Government of Palestine, 1947.
b) Rowley, 1977.
c) Maswadeh, 1978.

It is clear from the figures in Table 2.1 that the great majority of the population of Palestine prior to 1948 were Arabs and that less than one-third were

Jews. An estimate made by Abu Lughod (1973) indicated that the total non Jewish population of Palestine, in the absence of any dislocations and net migration, would have been in excess of 1,400,000 by the end of 1948. According to the annual growth rate calculated by the author for the period 1931 to 1946 , which was about 2.8 per cent, and assuming the same growth rate for the period 1946 to 1948, then the total Arab population of Palestine would have been about 1,378,000 by the end of 1948 (calculated from: Government of Palestine, 1933 & Gabbay, 1959).

2.5 The Definition of a Refugee:

The war of 1948 and the expansion of Israel beyond the limits suggested by the UN partition plan created large numbers of Palestinian refugees. 40 years later, the terms "Palestine", "Palestinian" and "refugee" all present serious problems of definition.

According to the definition accepted by the Palestinians themselves (The Palestine National Charter, 1968), Palestine is the territory administered under the British Mandate from the end of the 1914-1918 war until May 14, 1948, the date of the official termination of the Mandate; thus any Arab born or living in this area before 1948, or descended in the paternal line from these original inhabitants, is recognized as a Palestinian.

The term "Palestine refugee" was taken by the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNRPR), after a period of emergency aid in 1948, to mean a person who, as a result of the Palestine conflict, had lost his home and his means of livelihood. This definition was later progressively refined and today the accepted UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East) definition of a refugee is "a person whose normal residence was Palestine and who, as a result of this conflict, lost both his home and his means of livelihood and

took refuge in 1948 in one of the countries where UNRWA provides relief. Refugees within this definition and the direct descendants of such refugees are eligible for Agency assistance if they are registered with UNRWA, living in the area of UNRWA operation, and in need. " (United Nations, n.d. p.66).

It is clear, by taking the UNRWA definition, that the Palestinians recognized as refugees are only a part of the total displaced population, i.e those who were registered on the rolls of UNRWA, and were eligible to receive the Agency relief and reintegration services . Eligibility was conditional upon need, as well as upon loss of home and means of livelihood as a result of the conflict (see Chapter 4). This definition excludes both refugees who did not register with UNRWA after the original exodus in 1948, and those refugees who have become self-supporting; it also excludes, of course, those Palestinians who have left Palestine for areas lying outside the zone of UNRWA operations established as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1948.

The descendants of the original refugees, since they were born after 1948 and therefore outside Israeli territory, formed separate family units, and neither they nor their descendants are considered as refugees by the Israeli authorities (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967). However, those descendants of the original refugees are considered by UNRWA to be refugees, if they are living in the host countries, and are in need, as has been shown.

As regards the origin of the refugees, peasants and agricultural labourers formed the bulk of the Arab population in Palestine pre-1948. At the end of 1946, 747,940 persons or about 65.5% of the total Arab population lived in some 865 villages scattered throughout the country; a further 19.5% of the Arab population of Palestine comprised wholesale merchants, shopkeepers, teachers, minor government officials and the better artisans (Gabbay, 1959).

It is obvious that the refugees came from a variety of backgrounds. The

urban refugees, who constituted about 30% of the total refugee population, generally moved into towns after they had fled. These were the educated professional classes, merchants, and landowners, who have never lived in the camps. The rest were either dispersed in the villages of the West Bank or lived in nearby concentrations. About one third, almost all of them villagers, ended up in the organized camps. These constitute the more conservative, unskilled, illiterate and poor segment of the refugees (Plascov, 1981).

2.6 The Number of Refugees:

In the late fall of 1947, just after the partition plan had been recommended, skirmishes between the Jewish and Arab population broke out, presaging a civil war, and then the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948; due to the prevailing unrest in Palestine, the influx of the refugees into the neighbouring countries had begun, and their primary purpose was to reach safety in these countries . The most significant fact with regard to the Palestinian people, since the partition resolution, has been the outflow of the Palestinians from their homes. "By the end of the British Mandate on May 15, 1948, if not before, the removal of the Arab civilians had become an Israeli war aim" (Ott, 1980. pp.130-131).

The exodus of the Palestinians began on a small scale during the early phases of hostilities when an estimated 30,000 Palestinians left for neighbouring Arab countries. Within the six months period from the UN partition of November 29, 1947 to the official end of the Mandate and the proclamation of the state of Israel on May 15, 1948, the Palestinian exodus grew to great proportions; an estimated 200,000 had left their homes. The last phase of the exodus occured at the end of 1948, when Jewish forces swept through those predominantly Arab sections of the country which had been reserved to the 'Arab State' in the partition plan. Count Bernadotte, the UN Mediator on Palestine, estimated the number, as on September 10, 1948,

at about 330,000 (United Nations, 1948A). The Acting Mediator's report, made in October 1948, revised the figure to 472,000 but stated that the estimates made by Arab authorities reached totals of between 740,000 and 780,000 (United Nations, 1948B). It is self-evident that these early figures of the number of Palestinian refugees were in the nature of rough estimates made during a continuing flow.

Over the years, a variety of estimates have been made regarding the number of Palestinians displaced from their homes as a result of the events of 1947-48 and these are displayed in Table 2.2. In December 1949, the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East (which became known as the Clapp Mission, after its chairman), basing its calculations on the population of Palestine in December 1946, estimated that, as of May 1,1949, there was a total of 726,000 refugees from Israeli-held territory, of whom about 627,000 were said to be indigent. Other estimates of the number of refugees who had been expelled from their homes inside Israel range widely, from a maximum of a million to a minimum of 539,000, but most are between 740,000 and 780,000 , and the Clapp Mission's figure is considered by the United Nations to be the most reliable (United Nations, n.d). The author's estimates are presented in Table 2.3, suggesting a figure between 752,461 and 766,461 by the end of 1948. The differences between the various estimates quoted are due largely to variations in the definition of "refugee".

The demarcation line that divided Israeli-held from Arab-held territory under the Armistice agreement, which has since solidified into the frontier between Israel and the West Bank, cuts arbitrarily across country and, in many cases, severs towns and villages from the land that once supported them. It was estimated from investigations made by UNRWA in 1951 that there were some 67,000 persons in the West Bank and some 60,000 in the Gaza Strip who had in this way lost their means of livelihood as a direct result of hostilities and who were in genuine need, only differing from the former category of refugees in that they were still living in their own homes

Table 2.2
The Displaced Palestinians in 1948
Various Estimates

Estimates	For:		persons
a) Clapp's Mission	May	1949	726,000
b) Hadawi	May	1948	750,000
c) Abu Lughod	Dec.	1948	770–780,000
d) Ott	May	1948	780,000
e) Kossaifi		1948	750,000
f) Maswadeh	May	1948	739,000
g) Al Arif		1948	1,000,000
h) Pinner		1948	539,000

Sources:
a) United Nations, 1949.
b) Hadawi, 1968.
c) Abu Lughod, 1973.
d) Ott, 1980.
e) Kossaifi, 1985.
f) Maswadeh, 1978.
g) Al Arif, 1960.
h) Pinner, 1959.

Table 2.3
Palestinian Refugees in 1948
Author's Estimate

r 1931-46	Arab Population of Palestine 1948	Arab Population in the West Bank and Gaza 1948 (a)		Arab Population in Israel 8 XI 1948 (b)	Emigrants	
		Min.	Max.		Min.	Max.
2.8	1,378,000	493,900	507,900	117,639	752,461	766,461

r: Annual growth rate.
Sources:
a) Abu Lughod, 1973.
b)Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1960.

(United Nations, 1951).

2.7 Refugee Movements in 1948:

Palestinian refugee movements were at first mainly to the nearest place of safety -to the West Bank, the Gaza Strip (the two remaining portions of Palestine itself) and to the neighbouring Arab countries. As time passed they moved further afield in search of work or better living conditions to places as far away as Iraq and the Arabian peninsula, particularly to Kuwait and Bahrain.

Figure 2.2 represents the movement of Palestinian refugees into neighbouring countries in 1948, and shows that the remaining portions of Palestine, were the main receiving areas. The West Bank became the home of 280,000 additional Palestinians, while the Gaza Strip received about 197,000; these two areas thus had about 65.7% of the total Palestinian refugees by 1948; Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, as adjacent Arab states, together received one-third of the total refugees, and about 0.6% continued to Iraq.

The sections of Palestine from which the refugees originated had some effect on their destination. Those from the northern part of Palestine around Acre, Haifa, Safad and Galilee, fled northward into Syria and Lebanon, while refugees from Jaffa, Gaza District and Beersheba crowded into the Gaza Strip; the Arab population of the coastal area of Palestine, including some from Haifa and Jaffa, and most Arab inhabitants of Ramleh and Jerusalem Districts, fled to the hilly country on the West Bank. About four-fifths of the refugees from the coastal area settled in the West Bank, while the remainder continued on to Jordan, finally coming to rest in the Amman and Zarka areas (United Nations, n.d). By the date of the armistice agreement between Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries in 1949, about 960,000 Palestinians had become refugees (United Nations, 1981).

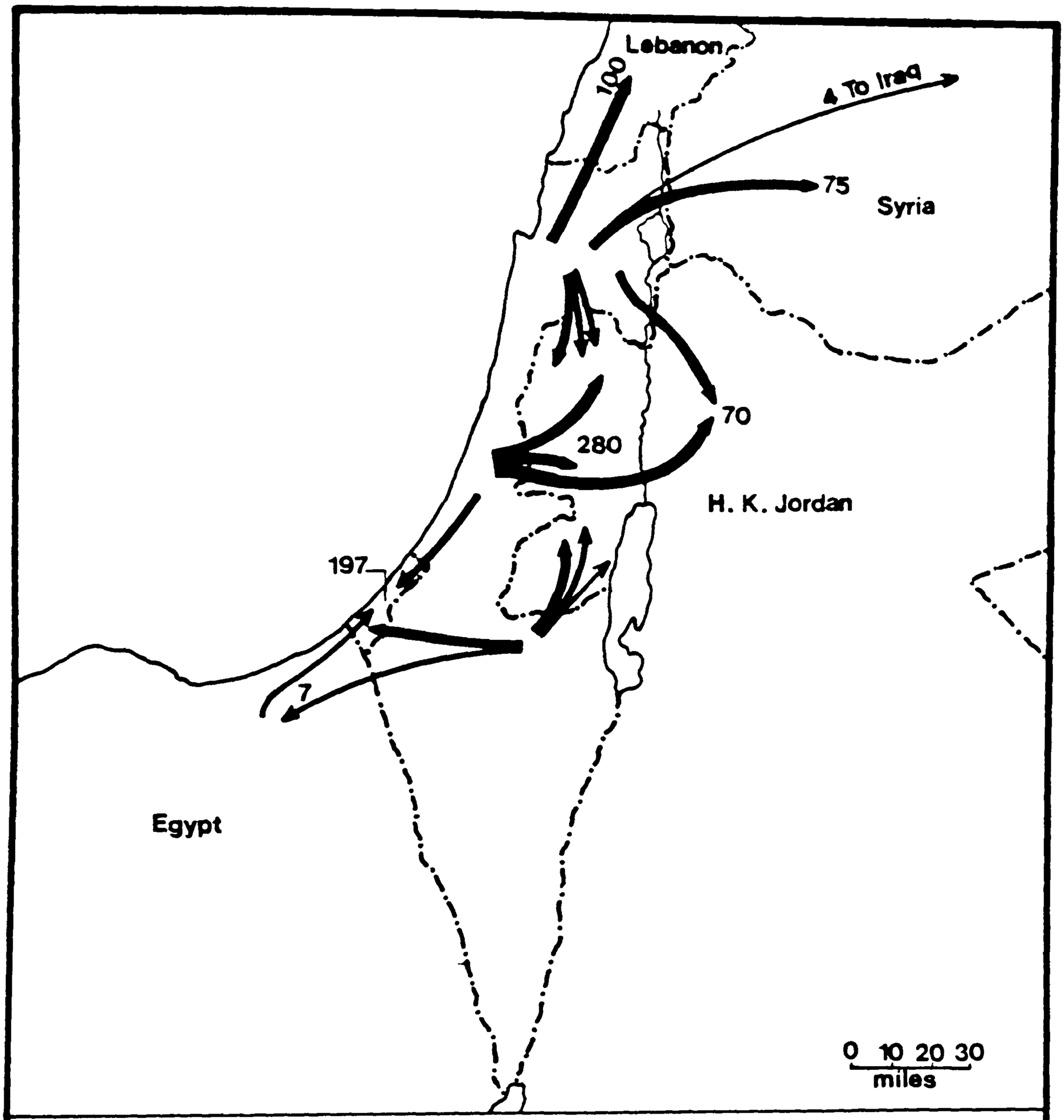


Fig 2.2 Refugee Movements in 1948. (000).

Source of Data: United Nations, 1949.

In December 1948, some of the Arab governments took the position that the first duty of the Palestine conciliation commissions, which had been established by the U.N General Assembly on December 11, 1948, was to ensure the unconditional return of the refugees to Israel; the Israeli government had permitted the return of some Arabs who were separated from their families, but Israel took the position that the Arab countries must undertake the resettlement of the majority of the refugees and she would take only a restricted number -the figure mentioned was 100,000 (Shwadran, 1950). Finally, the arrangments made in 1950 resulted in the return only of 523 dependent family members from Lebanon, 267 from Jordan, and 115 from Egyptian held territory. (United Nations, 1950).

Initially in 1948, refugees took shelter wherever they could. Some took refuge in temporary camps, some in caves, but the majority found shelter in Arab towns and villages, and by 1950 only one-third of all UNRWA registered refugees lived in the Agency-organized camps (United Nations, n.d).

2.8 Population Growth After 1948:

2.8.1 The Numerical Increase:

Attempts to estimate the numbers, distribution and growth rates of Palestinians in general or Palestinian refugees in particular are rendered difficult by a variety of factors. As already indicated, Palestinians are widely dispersed and thus appear in the statistics of numerous countries which record their presence in different ways and at different dates and may use different definitions of both "Palestinian" and "refugee". In addition, Palestinians continue to move from one country or region to another. Data sources include such diverse items as the statistical publications of several different countries and of the PLO, UNRWA ration lists and the independent estimates of individual research workers. Inevitably, such data can only be approxi-

mations.

In addition to attempts by numerous research workers to estimate the world total of the Palestinian population, the Palestine Libaration Organization (PLO) Central Bureau of Statistics has given figures for their numbers and distribution annually since 1979. These PLO estimates for countries or regions are based on such demographic indicators as intercensal growth rates or rates of natural increase; where such data are not available, the Bureau has adopted the available estimates from a variety of sources and surveys. In contrast, the estimates made by the U.S Bureau of Census are only for selected years; its estimates being based on the published materials of the main 17 countries/areas of residence, in addition to the published materials of the PLO and the independent estimates. For countries or areas other than the main 17, the U.S Bureau prepared lump-sum estimates of the number of Palestinians living there, and construed them as orders of magnitude rather than as precise estimates. An addition of 2% in 1960 and 3.2% in 1984 was made to cover Palestinians living elsewhere in the world.

UNRWA figures on the number of Palestinian refugees are based on its registration lists and report annually on the number of additions to those lists as a result of births and the number of deletions because of death, but no accurate count of refugees has ever been made. The UNRWA registration list now includes a third refugee generation and a fourth is already starting to apear. In 1981, the refugees born before 1948 totalled approximately 621,000 or about 33.5% of the total, the residue of more than 1,300,000 being born after the original exodus (United Nations, n.d).

Table 2.4 illustrates variations on the estimated number of the world total of the Palestinians from one source to another throughout the period presented. In 1970, their number would be somewhere between a low of 2,667,000 and a high of

three millions, a difference of some 330,000 or about 11%. This percentage difference was 17.8% in 1978; in fact, Hill's estimate for midyear 1978 exceeds both the PLO (4,447,000) and the U.S Bureau of Census (4,234,000) estimates for end-of-year 1981 by about 3.7% and 8.3%, respectively.

Table 2.4

The World Total of Palestinian Population

1970-84, (000)

Various Estimates

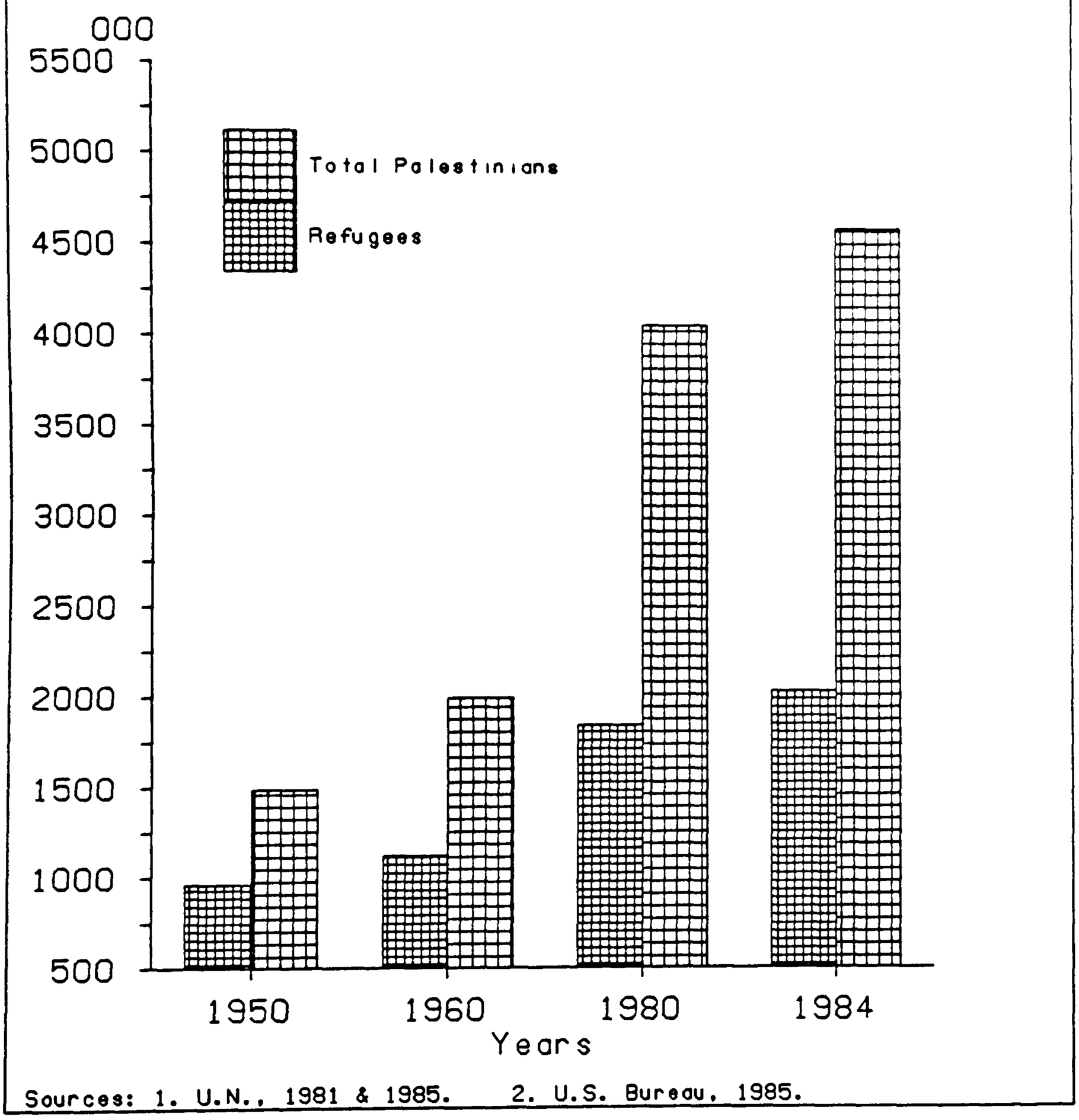
Source	1970	1978	1980	1981	1984
Abu Lughod	3.000		4.140		
Hill		4.616			
Kossaifi	2.667		3.773		
PLO			4.390	4.447	5.046
U.S Bureau		3.796	4.055	4.234	4.592

Sources:
1) Abu Lughod, 1973.
2) Hill, 1982.
3) Kossaifi, 1985.
4) PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1980, 1981&1986.
5) U.S Bureau of Census, 1985.

These differences between various estimates of the total Palestinian population are explained by variations in the assumed growth rate among the various data sources used and also reflects variations in the definition of Palestinians. All the estimates presented are agreed that the annual growth rate of the Palestinian population would be somewhere between a low of 3% and a high of 4%, due mainly to the high fertility rates maintained by the Palestinian population.

Figure 2.3 shows the numerical increase for both the total Palestinian population and refugees from 1950 to 1984. In 1984, Palestinians numbered about

Figure 2.3 Palestinian Population & Refugees
1950-1984



Sources: 1. U.N., 1981 & 1985. 2. U.S. Bureau, 1985.

4,592,000, as against 1,491,000 in 1950. Thus, they had increased by about 3,101,000 or about 208%, this increase representing about 67.5% of the world total of the Palestinian population in 1984. Between these dates, the number of refugee population rose by 1,074,000, an increase of about 112%; this increase represents some 53% of the total number of refugees.

These figures indicate that over the entire 34-year period 1950 to 1984, the annual growth rate of the Palestinians as a whole was very high, averaging about 3.2% as against 2.2% for refugees. Considering the fact that the annual growth rate of the Palestinians estimated by the U.S Bureau of Census is equivalent to the annual rate of natural increase on the basis that the Palestinian population is a closed population; the lower annual growth rate of the refugees can be viewed as a result of the incomplete data of UNRWA.

2.8.2 Natural Increase:

As in the case of the total numbers, precise data on the birth, death and natural increase rates among Palestinian refugees, or among Palestinians as a whole, are not available. However, according to the U.S Bureau of Census the natural increase for the Palestinian population as a whole in 1984, was 32.12 per 1000, comprising a crude birth rate of 39.3, and a crude death rate of 7.17. For 1981, the total fertility rate of the Palestinian population can be estimated at 6.6 births per woman, and the average life expectancies at birth can be estimated at 62.6 years for males and 64.0 years for females (U.S Bureau of Census, 1985). Among the Arabs in Israel, life expectancy at birth was 70.6 years for males and 74.2 years for females in 1981 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1988). By contrast, the Israeli authorities estimated life expectancy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip at about 48 years in 1967, 55 years in the mid 1970's, and 62 years in the early 1980's (Israel Ministry of Health, 1986).

Table 2.5 presents the average annual rate of natural increase of the Palestinian population as estimated by the U.S Bureau of Census, while the annual rates of natural increase of refugees, calculated by the author on the basis of the reported numbers of births and deaths registered by UNRWA, are presented in Table 2.6 and Figure 2.4. Tables 2.5, 2.6 and Figure 2.4 indicate that, while the average annual rate of natural increase was 32 per 1000 Palestinians over the period 1950 to 1984, it was only 24 for the refugees over the period 1968 to 1981. The latter is much too low to be credible, and suggests that not all births and deaths are being registered, although data for 1974 seem to be more reasonable than those for other years.

Table 2.5

Natural Increase for the Palestinian Population

Estimate

1950-55	1955-60	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	1975-80	1980-84
26	28	35	35	37	33	32

Source: U.S Bureau of Census, 1985.

Table 2.6

Natural Increase for the Palestinian Refugees

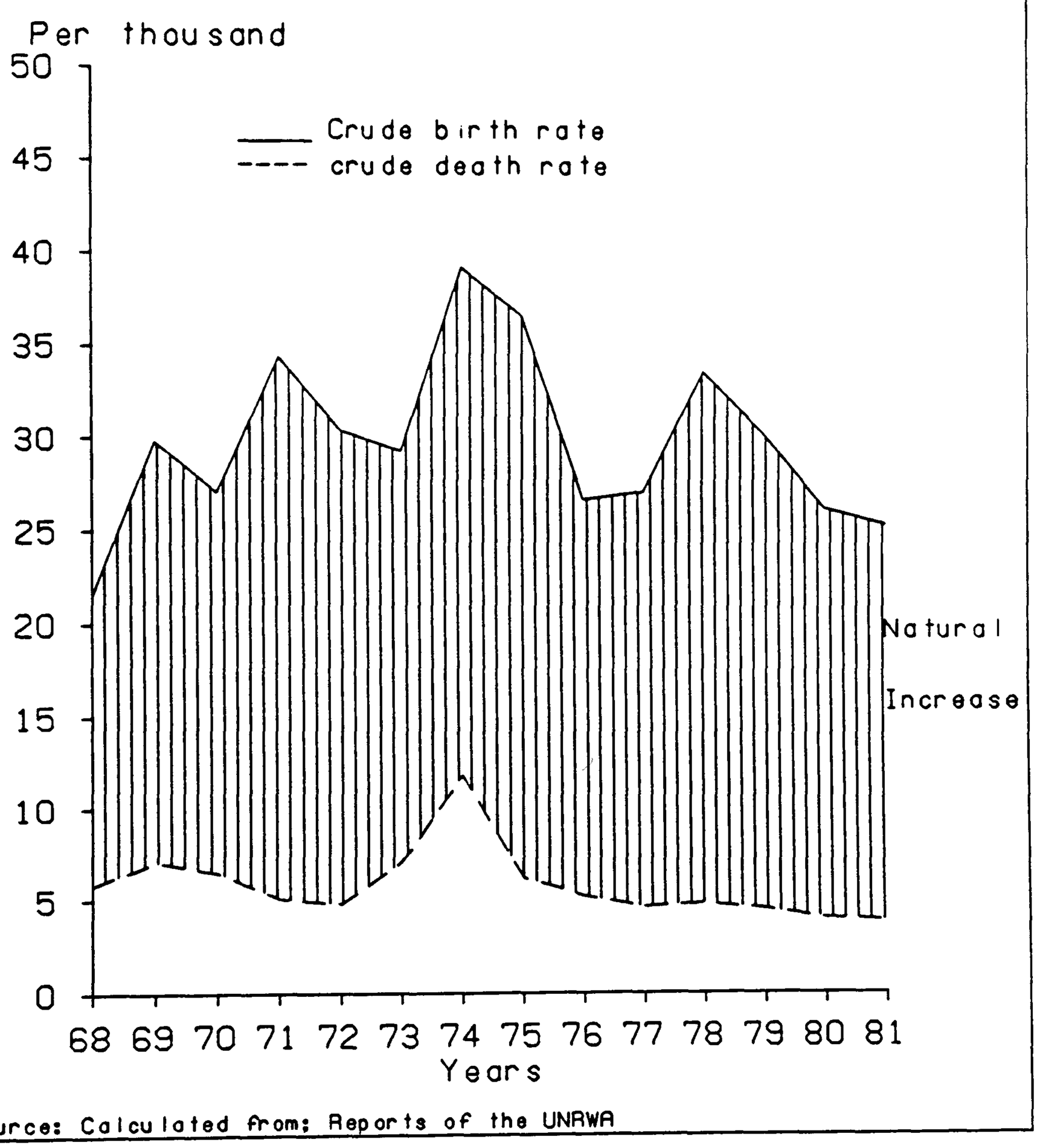
1968-81.

1968	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81
15.8	22.7	20.6	29.3	25.6	22.2	27.4	30.4	21.5	22.5	28.8	25.7	22.2	21.5

Source: calculated from:
Reports of the Commissioner-General of the UNRWA.
cited in Palestine Statistical Abstract, 1983.

Over the entire 25-year period, 1950 to 1975, the natural increase of the Palestinian population was very high, averaging about 32 per 1000, and the trend of the interperiod rates of natural increase was upward, increasing from 26 during

Figure 2.4 Crude Birth Rate & Crude Death Rate of the Palestinian Refugees, 1968-1981



Source: Calculated from: Reports of the UNRWA

1950-55 to 37 during 1970-75. Although the average annual rates of natural increase remained high in the period 1975 to 1984, the trend of the interperiod rates of natural increase after 1975 has been downward, decreasing from 37 in 1970-75 to 32 in 1980-84. This general trend of the rates of natural increase is to be found among the refugees (Table 2.6 and Figure 2.4). The natural increase of refugees reached its peak in the mid 1970s, declined slightly thereafter due to the more rapid decline of fertility than of mortality over the same period. And in general, Figure 2.4 also indicates that fluctuations in the rate of natural increase among the Palestinian refugees are due primarly to variations in the birth rate. By contrast, the trend of the natural increase among the Arabs in Israel in the period 1955-65 was upward, increasing from 34.1 to 43.6, due to the rapid decline in mortality rates; from 7.9 to 6.0, and also due to the increase in birth rates; from 42 to 49.6 over the same period. Thereafter, however, the trend of the natural increase among the Arabs in Israel has been downward, decreasing from 43.6 in 1965 to 28.1 in 1985, due mainly to a remarkable decline in birth rates; from 49.6 to 31.8 between these dates (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1988).

2.9 Distribution of the Palestinians:

2.9.1 The Palestinian Population:

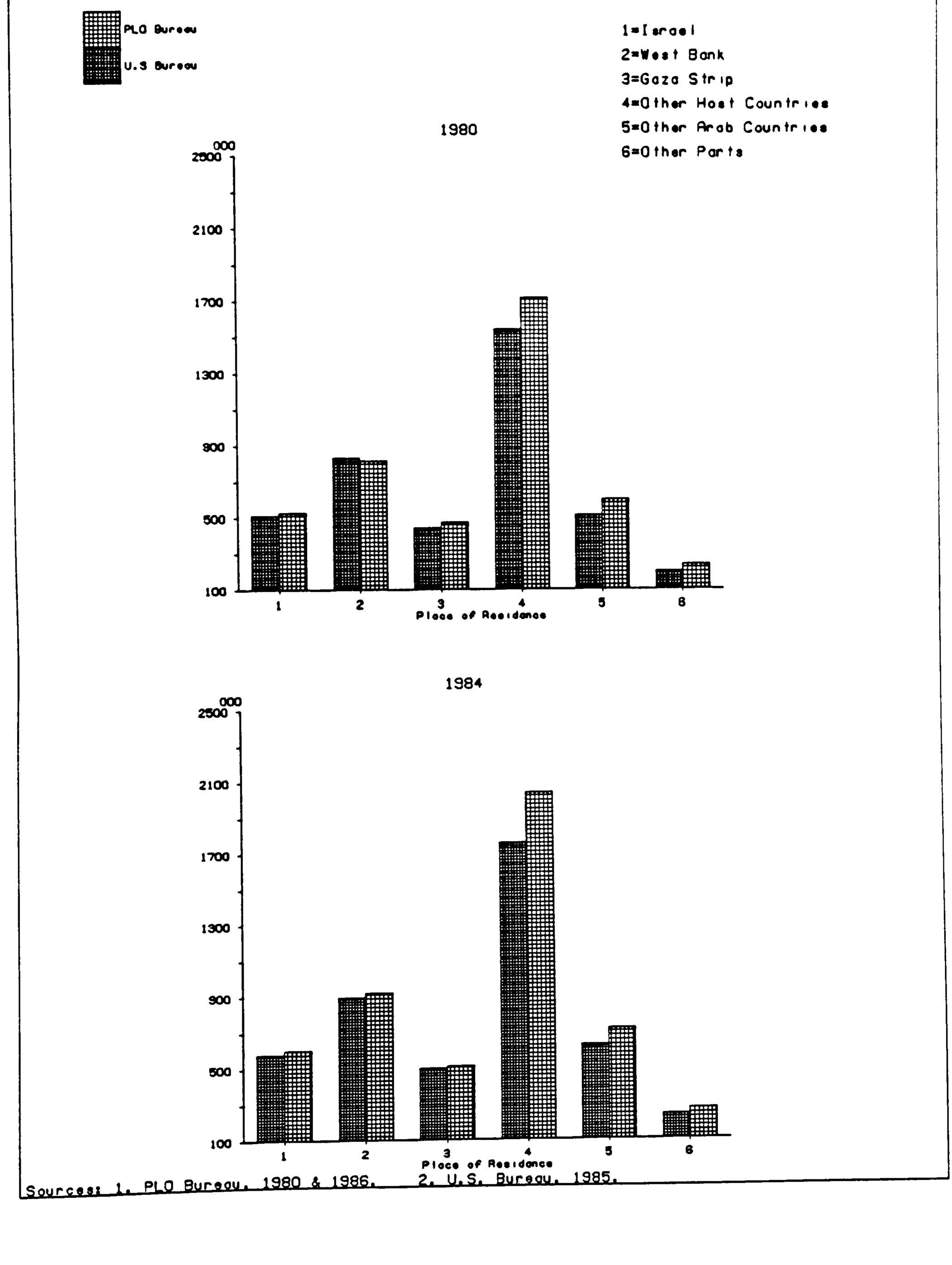
As has just been pointed out, the 1948 war led to a wide dispersal of the Palestinian population. From that date on, however, there has been a continued movement of the Palestinian population. The scope of subsequent population redistribution is suggested by the figures in Table 2.7 and Figure 2.5. In 1980, only between 44% and 41.5% of the Palestinians, according to the U.S Bureau and the PLO estimates respectively, lived in the historical Palestine lands (Israel, West Bank, and the Gaza Strip) as against 66.8% in 1960. Conversely, between 56% and 58.5% of the 1980 Palestinian population lived in areas outside, compared to only 33.2%

Table 2.7
Palestinian Arabs Estimates by Place of Residance 1960,80&84.
Various Estimates

Country or Area	U.S Bureau (1)			PLO (2)	
	1960	1980	1984	1980	1984
Israel	231,800	513,100	579,200	530,600	602,700
West Bank	798,900	832,400	896,600	818,300	919,000
Gaza Strip	302,000	444,100	499,100	476,700	509,900
Sub-total	1,332,700	1,789,600	1,974,300	1,825,600	2,031,600
Other Host Countries	528,800	1,548,000	1,756,400	1,723,400	2,035,078
Other Arab Countries	84,200	515,100	625,400	602,700	713,644
Other Parts of the World	40,000	201,900*	235,700	238,300	266,051
Total	1,995,800	4,054,600	4,591,800	4,390,000	5,046,373
Refugees (3)	1,120,889	1,844,318	2,034,314	1,844,318	2,034,314
	percentages				
Israel	11.7	12.6	12.6	12.1	11.9
West Bank	40.0	20.5	19.5	18.6	18.2
Gaza Strip	15.1	11.0	10.9	10.9	10.1
Sub-total	66.8	44.1	43.0	41.6	40.2
Other Host Countries	26.5	38.2	38.3	39.3	40.3
Other Arab Countries	4.2	12.7	13.6	13.7	14.1
Other Parts of the World	2.0	5.0	5.1	5.4	5.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Refugees	56.2	45.5	44.3	42.0	40.3

* as of 1981.
Sources:
1) U.S Bureau of Census, 1985.
2) PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1980&1986.
3) United Nations, 1981&1985.

Figure 2.5 PLO & U.S. Bureau Estimates of the Palestinians by Place of Residance



Sources: 1. PLO Bureau, 1980 & 1986. 2. U.S. Bureau, 1985.

in 1960. The percentage of the Palestinian population living within the historical boundaries of Palestine had declined still further by 1984 to between 43% and 40%, while those who lived in the areas outside increased to 57%-59.7%. These changes are due mainly to the 1967 exodus of the Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a result of the Arab-Israeli war, and to the fact that the Palestinians have continued to move in order to seek work outside Palestine, or for other reasons.

Table 2.7 and Figure 2.5 show that the Palestinian population has moved mainly towards the Arab host countries of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, as adjacent Arab states; these three together contained 38% to 40% in 1984, as against 26.5% in 1960. The data also show a rapid increase in the percentage of the Palestinian population living in other Arab countries (from 4.2% in 1960 to 13.6%-14.1% in 1984) and of those living in other parts of the world (from 2% to about 5% over the same period). This is likely to be due to the civil wars which occured in the Middle East, particularly those of 1970 in Jordan and of 1976 in Lebanon, in addition to the Palestinian-Israeli wars in the southern Lebanon, especially that of 1982. Movements in search of work have been another factor in the migration of Palestinians to more distant areas.

2.9.2 The Palestinian Refugees:

On the basis of the UNRWA definition of Palestinian refugees, and according to the estimated world total of the Palestinian population (Table 2.7), the refugees constituted about 56.2% of all Palestinians in 1960, and then decreased continuously to about 42%-40% by 1984,due mainly to the emigration of the refugees outside the UNRWA's area of operations. Of the 960,021 refugees recorded by UNRWA in 1950, 53% were found in the East and West Bank of Jordan; 21% in the Gaza Strip; 13% in Lebanon; 9% in Syria, and 5% in Israel (ECWA, 1983). Table 2.8 indicates that the distribution of the refugees within UNRWA's area of operations has not changed

significantly since 1950. In 1985, about 37.5% of the total refugees, or 785,
still concentrated in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip combined, compared to 41% or 584,506 refugees in 1970. Conversely, 38.2% of the 1985 refugees or 799,724 lived in Jordan compared to 35.5% or 506,038 refugees in 1970. The percentage of the refugees residing in Lebanon (around 12.3%) and Syria (around 11.3%) has nearly remained the same over that period. These figures exclude refugees receiving relief in Israel who were the responsibility of UNRWA until June 1952.

Table 2.8

Distribution of the Palestinian Refugees in the Host Countries

1970-85

Areas	1970	1975	1980	1983	1984	1985
West Bank	272,692	292,922	324,035	344,474	350,779	357,704
Gaza Strip	311,814	333,031	367,995	382,549	410,745	427,892
Jordan	506,038	625,857	716,372	759,166	781,564	799,724
Lebanon	175,958	196,855	266,554	244,434	256,207	263,599
Syria	158,717	184,042	209,362	226,438	235,019	244,626
Total	1,425,219	1,632,707	1,844,318	1,957,061	2,034,314	2,093,545
West Bank	19.2	18.0	17.6	17.6	17.2	17.1
Gaza Strip	21.9	20.5	19.9	19.5	20.2	20.4
Jordan	35.5	38.5	38.8	38.8	38.4	38.2
Lebanon	12.3	12.1	12.3	12.5	12.6	12.6
Syria	11.1	11.3	11.4	11.6	11.6	11.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources:
1) United Nations, 1983.
2) 1984.
3) 1985.

In general, these figures indicate the limited movement of refugees com-

pared with that of the Palestinians as a whole. This is likely to be due to the limited financial and human capital of refugees. It also indicates that among refugees living in the host countries, those in the West Bank, followed by the Gaza Strip, had been the most likely to emigrate during the period presented, and mainly towards Jordan. The Israeli occupation of these two areas in 1967, has led them to emigrate for work or for other reasons (see Chapter 9).

Table 2.9

Distribution of the Palestinian Refugees, 1985

Host Countries

Area	No. of Camps	Total Camp Population	Average camp population	percent of Refugees in Camps
West Bank	20	92,588	4,629	25.9
Gaza Strip	8	236,486	29,561	55.3
Jordan	10	244,626	24,463	30.6
Lebanon	13	135,941	10,457	51.2
Syria	10	79,330	7,933	32.4
Total	61	788,971	12,934	35.2

Source: United Nations, 1985.

The Palestinian refugee population in the host countries falls naturally into two groups (Table 2.9), those living in refugee camps, who constituted 35.2% of the total in 1985, and the remaining 64.8% living outside the camps. There is a clear distinction between Lebanon and the Gaza Strip, on the one hand, where rather more than half the refugees live in camps, and the remaining territories -Syria, Jordan and the West Bank- where less than one-third live in camps. The West Bank has the lowest proportion, barely a quarter, of its refugees living in camps.

The number of the camps has not remained constant over the years. The

mobility of the population and the effects of military action, particularly the war of 1967 and the civil war in Lebanon during 1975-1976, meant old camps were frequently closed, and new ones opened throughout the period, particularly in the areas most directly affected. Thus, after the 1967 war, ten so-called emergency camps were established in Jordan and Syria (United Nations, n.d).

The figures in Table 2.9 reveal that the number of camps housing refugees reached 61 in 1985, of which one third are in the West Bank. The Table also shows that the refugee camps of the West Bank are generally small, with an average population below 5,000, less than one-fifth the size of those in Jordan and the Gaza Strip, due mainly to the continuing presence in Jordan of many former West Bank refugees who fled in 1967 and are prevented by the Israeli authorities from returning (United Nations, 1982).

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CHAPTER THREE

THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN THE WEST BANK

3.1 Introduction:

It is necessary first to examine the position of the Palestinian refugee population as a distinctive element in the population of the West Bank as a whole. It is clear that the Palestinian refugees have constituted a significant proportion of the population of the West Bank throughout the period since 1949. Most estimates (Table 3.1) put them between 44% and 49% of the total, the main exception being the low Israeli estimate of 22.5% in 1967. The differences between the Israeli and the other figures result from variations in the definition of the word refugee, and from the exodus of 1967, which occured mainly in the period between the date of the war and September 1967, the date of the Israeli census of population.

Table 3.1

The Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank

Various Years

West Bank Population	1952 (000)	1952 (%)	1967 (3) (000)	1967 (3) (%)	1971 (000)	1971 (%)	1984 (000)	1984 (%)
Total Population	742.0 (1)	100	585.9	100	622.6 (4)	100	786.7(4)	100
Refugees	363.7 (2)	49.0	131.7	22.5	273.3 (5)	43.9	350.8 (5)	44.6
in Camps	118.3	32.5	56.6	43.0	69.2	25.3	89.3	25.5
outside Camps	245.4	67.5	75.1	57.0	204.1	74.7	261.5	74.5

Sources:
1) Jordan Department of Statistics, 1964.
2) United Nations, 1952.
3) Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967. Pub. No's 1,2&part 1.
4) 1985.
5) Maps of UNRWA Areas of Operations, 1971&1984.

The figures in Table 3.1 also indicate that the majority of the refugees live outside the camps, in pre-existing urban and rural settlements.

3.2 Spatial Distribution:

The most significant fact regarding the spatial distribution of the refugee camps in the West Bank since April 1949, the date of the armistice agreement between Jordan and Israel, has been the establishment of the camps far away from the "border" or armistice line.

The first wave of 280,000 Palestinian refugees who fled to the West Bank before May 1949 initially took shelter wherever they could, and were thus distributed in locations all over the West Bank. The first UNRWA camps were established at this stage, in addition to which there were a number of "unofficial" camps.

3.2.1 November, 1952:

The data in Table 3.2 and Figure 3.1 indicate the distribution of the Palestinian refugee population in the West Bank by November 1952. They show that there were six unofficial camps (8, 12, 13, 20, 21, and 24), which together contained about 30,360 people, some 25.7% of the total refugee camps' population, and that about 79% of those living in "unofficial" camps were concentrated in Jericho Subdistrict. The data also show that more than two-thirds of the refugees, some 245,398 people, took shelter outside the 24 camps.

Approximately 189,892 people -about 52.2% of the total number of refugees- were concentrated in Jerusalem District. Of these, 45.6% were distributed among 15 camps, 10 of which were official, while the remaining 54.4% were living in the main towns and villages. Approximately 117,924 people, nearly one-third of the total, were concentrated in Nablus District. These were distributed among 6 camps (18.4%) and

Table 3.2
Distribution of the Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank
November 1952

Refugee Camps in Subdistricts	Refugee Population		Total	Ref. No. to the Maps
	In Camps	Not in C.		
Nablus District	21,693	96,231	117,924	
Nablus	12,655		—	
No.1	1,726			1
Balata	4,112			2
Asker	2,747			3
Fara'a	4,070			4
Tulkarm	9,038			
Tulkarm	5,425			5
Nur Shams	3,613			6
Jerusalem District	86,644	103,248	189,892	
Jerusalem	6,479	50,437	56,916	
Kalandia	1,981			7
*The Camp	4,498			8
Ramallah	10,490	42,775	53,265	
Am'ari	1,656			9
Jalazone	4,166			10
Deir Ammar	2,848			11
*Ein Arik	1,405			12
*Ein Sinia	0,415			13
Bethlehem	4,527		4,527	
Dheisheh	3,300			14
Beit Jibrin	0,640			15
Aida	0,587			16
Jericho	65,148	10,036	75,184	
Nu'eima	5,214			17
Ein el Sultan	5,623			18
Aqbat Jabr	30,358			19
*Al Badou	5,094			20
*Al Karamat	18,859			21
Hebron District	9,954	45,919	55,873	
Al Arrub	5,354			22
Al Fawwar	4,511			23
*Halhoul	0,089			24
Total	118,291	245,398	363,689	

* Unofficial Camp.
Source: United Nations, 1952.

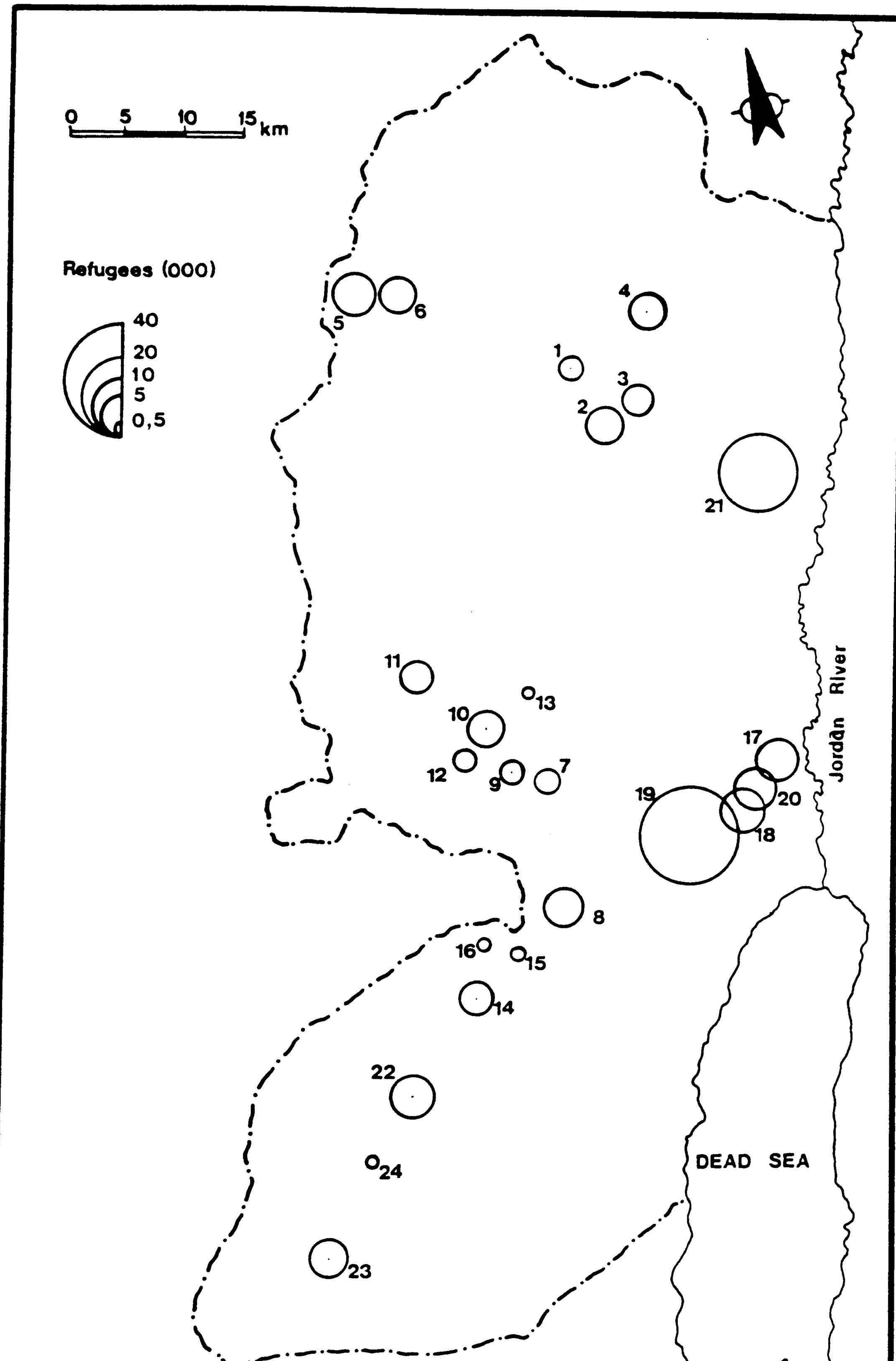

Fig 3.1: The Refugee Camps' Population Registered with UNRWA in the West Bank, 1952.

Source of Data: United Nations, 1952

the main towns and villages (81.6%). The remaining 55,873 people (15.3%) were located in Hebron District. Of these, 17.8% were distributed among three camps, two of which were official, and about 82.2% were located in Hebron city. Thus, nearly three-quarters (73.3%) of all refugees living in camps were in the Jerusalem camps, nearly one-fifth (18.3%) were concentrated in those of Nablus, and the remaining 8.4% were living in Hebron camps. In addition to this, some 42% of the total number of refugees living outside the camps were living in Jerusalem District, 39% in Nablus, and the remaining 18.7% were concentrated in Hebron District.

Differences between the three Districts, as regards the size of their populations, are related to the relative sizes of the Districts. Jerusalem and Nablus together, form about 81% of the total area of the West Bank, and contain eleven of the twelve urban centres and a majority of the larger rural settlements, which means that there are more opportunities for employment for displaced persons than in Hebron District, which represent about 19% of the total area, and has only one urban centre (Hebron city) and a small number of rural settlements.

The data also reveal that the large concentration of the refugee camps in Jerusalem District results from the heavy concentration of the camps' population in the Jericho area which contained about 55.1% of the total refugee camps' population of the West Bank. Jericho had the two biggest camps in the West Bank by the year 1952, one of them (Aqbat Jabr) containing about the same number of refugees in camps as Nablus and Hebron Districts combined. The high concentration around Jericho may be the result of its location as the easternmost city in the West Bank, lying in the lower Jordan valley and thus relatively far from the hostilities which seemed likely to occur again near the armistice line. In addition, the area has a high agricultural potential and was attractive to poor refugees in search of work.

From the early 1950s until the mid-1960s, the number of official refugee

camps in the West Bank declined to 20 as a result of the policies of the Jordanian government and UNRWA, both of which preferred, mainly for political reasons, to redistribute the Palestinian refugees in organized camps. As a result, refugees from the unofficial camps mentioned above, and others, moved to newly-established official camps, so that all refugees who had originally entered camps of both types were settled in the twenty organized camps before the war of June, 1967.

3.2.2 May,1967:

Table 3.3 shows the distribution of the Palestinian refugees in the West Bank immediately before the war of June 1967. By this stage, the the percentage of refugees living in camps had risen slightly, to 36.5%, while 63.5% remained outside the camps.

Jerusalem District still contained the highest percentage of the refugee camps' population, despite a decline to about 61.2% of the total, while the number increased to about 101,269 people. The main concentration was in Jericho, which had 48% of the total refugee camps' population in the West Bank, reflecting the fact that the movement of the refugees was highly directed to Jerusalem District camps (three in Jericho: 17, 18, and 19; two in Jerusalem: 7 and 26; three in Ramallah: 9, 10, and 11; three in Bethlehem: 14, 15, and 16).

In Nablus District, the proportion of refugees living in camps had risen to 25.4%, while the number increased to 42,200 or by about 94.5%, mainly as a result of the establishment of a new camp near Jenin city and the movement of the refugee bedouins from the Jericho area to Jenin, Tulkarm, Balata, Asker, Fara'a and Nur Shams camps in addition to camp No.1. In Hebron District the refugee camps' population had risen to 13.4% of the total, while the number had increased to 22,100 or by about 122% as a result of the movement directed to Arrub and Fawwar camps.

Table 3.3

Distribution of the Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank, May 1967

District	Refugee Population		Total
	Official Camps	Not in Camps	
Nablus: (000)	42.2	109.2	151.4
(%)	25.4	37.9	33.3
Jerusalem: (000)	101.3	108.5	209.8
(%)	61.2	37.6	46.2
in Jericho (000)	79.2	24.4	103.6
(%)	47.8	8.5	22.8
Hebron: (000)	22.1	70.7	92.8
(%)	13.4	24.5	20.5
Total	165.6	288.4	454.1
	36.5	63.5	100

Sources: Derived From:
1) Jordan Ministry of Culture and Information, 1963.
2) PLO Palestine Research Centre, 1970.

In the case of the refugees living outside the camps, Nablus and Jerusalem Districts each contained more than 37.5% of their total number in the West Bank, while Hebron contained less than one-quarter. This again reflects the high concentrations of the Palestinian refugees as a whole within Jerusalem and Nablus Districts (about 80% of the grand total), for reasons discussed above.

According to the Jordanian government figures, before the war of 1967, Palestinian refugees in the West Bank represented about 63.5% of the Palestinian refugees in the Kingdom as a whole (Jordan Ministry of Culture and Information, 1968). By taking the UNRWA figures for May 31, 1967, directly before the war of June 5, 1967, which showed about 722,687 Palestinian refugees in both parts of

the Kingdom (United Nations, 1967), one may assume that there were some 458,906 Palestinian refugees in the West Bank directly before the war.

3.2.3 September, 1967:

Tables 3.4, 3.5 and Figure 3.2 reveal the fact that this situation changed greatly after June 1967, mainly as a result of the war, though differences in the definition of the word refugee between the Israeli authorities on one hand and the Jordanian authorities and UNRWA on the other also had some effect.

The Israeli census of population, conducted by the Israeli military authorities in September, 1967, records a much smaller number of Palestinian refugees in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem). The 131,724 people recorded as refugees in that census represent only about 42.3% of the total refugees registered with UNRWA, who numbered 311,182 in August, 1967. Of the Israeli census total, 56,641 were recorded as living in camps, this figure representing about 77.8% of the refugee camps' population registered with UNRWA. The 75,083 recorded as living outside the camps represent only 31.5% of the UNRWA figure. These differences reflect again the great difference in definition of the term refugee between Israel and UNRWA, and may also have been affected by the exodus of refugees eastward before the date of the Israeli census, which took place in September, 1967. These figures indicate the narrow definition of the term refugee in the Israeli census. They also indicate that, according to the Israeli definition, there were some 11,798 people living in refugee camps who did not originate from the 1948 exodus, or about one-fifth of the total refugee camps' population in the West Bank. In addition, the figures reflect the omission of Aida official camp (16), near Bethlehem, from the Israeli census. The census also shows the existence of Auja unofficial camp (27) near Jericho, which contained only 590 Palestinian refugees.

Table 3.4
Distribution of the Refugee Camps' Population in the West Bank
September 1967

Refugee Camps in Subdistricts			Total	There of Originating From 1948 Exodus		Ref. No. to the Maps
				People	(%)	
Nablus District			28,705	25,214	87.8	
	Nablus		16,138	14,153	87.7	
		No.1	2,424	2,191	90.4	1
		Balata	6,897	6,288	91.2	2
		Asker	4,273	3,710	86.8	3
		Fara'a	2,544	1,964	77.2	4
	Tulkarm		7,548	6,581	87.2	
		Tulkarm	5,020	4,314	85.9	5
		Nur Shams	2,528	2,267	89.7	6
	Jenin	(J.camp)	5,019	4,480	89.3	25
Jerusalem District			22,092	15,337	69.4	
	Jerusalem		5,415	3,162	58.4	
		Kalandia	2,683	2,037	75.9	7
		Shu'fat	2,732	1,125	41.2	26
	Ramallah		7,791	6,360	81.6	
		Am'ari	3,363	2,846	84.6	9
		Jalazone	3,071	2,833	92.3	10
		Deir Ammar	1,357	0,681	50.2	11
Bethlehem			6,005	4,345	72.4	
		Dheisheh	4,149	2,838	68.4	14
		Beit Jibrin	1,856	1,507	81.2	15
Jericho			2,881	1,470	51.0	
		Nu'eima	0,464	0,071	15.3	17
		Ein el Sultan	0,208	0,096	46.2	18
		Aqbat Jabr	1,619	1,195	73.8	19
		*Auja	0,590	0,108	18.3	27
Hebron District			5,844	4,292	73.4	
		Al Arrub	3,611	2,544	70.5	22
		Al Fawwar	2,233	1,748	78.3	23
Total			56,641	44,843	79.2	

*Unofficial Camp.

Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.

Table 3.5
Distribution of the Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank, by Type September 1967

Subdistrict	in Camps	in Urban Settlements	in Rural Settlements	Total
Nablus	16,138	7,160	4,223	27,521
Tulkarm	7,548	3,692	7,820	19,060
Jenin	5,019	2,662	5,663	13,344
Jerusalem	5,415	4,892	6,675	16,982
Ramallah	7,791	9,928	4,065	21,784
Bethlehem	6,005	4,284	2,854	13,143
Jericho	2,881	1,095	2,182	6,158
Hebron	5,844	2,877	5,011	13,732
		percentages		
Nablus	28.5	19.6	11.0	20.9
Tulkarm	13.3	10.1	20.3	14.5
Jenin	8.9	7.3	14.7	10.1
Jerusalem	9.6	13.4	17.3	12.9
Ramallah	13.7	27.1	10.7	16.5
Bethlehem	10.6	11.7	7.4	10.0
Jericho	5.1	3.0	5.6	4.7
Hebron	10.3	7.8	13.0	10.4
Total	56,641	36,590	38,493	131,724
	100	100	100	100

Sources: Derived From:
1) Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, pub. No.1. 1967.
2) pub. No.3. 1968.
3) part. 1. 1968.

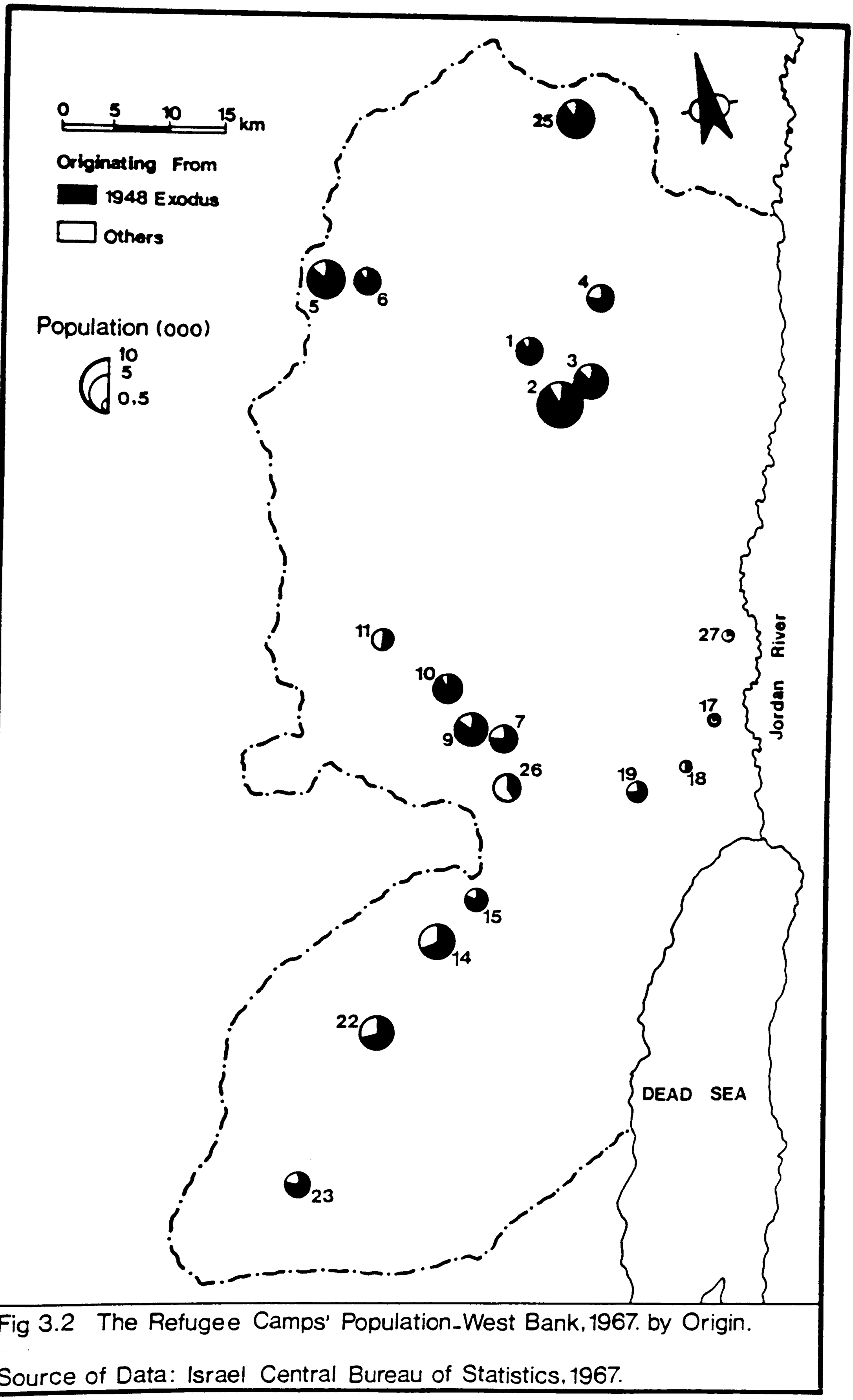

Fig 3.2 The Refugee Camps' Population-West Bank, 1967. by Origin.

Source of Data: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.

The figures in Table 3.4 also show that Nablus District now contained some 28,705 refugees living in camps, about half the West Bank total. In Jerusalem District, the proportion had fallen to about 39% (22,092). This was due mainly to the large decline in the refugee camps' population of the Jericho area which was now only 5.1% of the total as against 55.1% in 1952 and 48% in May 1967. The Jericho area clearly made a major contribution to the exodus following the 1967 war. This may again be related to its location, this time as the area nearest to the boundary with Jordan.

Figure 3.2 indicates the proportion of the population of each camp derived from the initial 1948 exodus, as defined above (Chapter 2). This category constituted 79.2% of all refugees in 1967 and was concentrated mainly in nine camps (10, 2, 1, 6, 25, 3, 5, 9, and 15). Refugees in this category were more than 80% of the total in Nablus District, and in the Ramallah and Bethlehem Subdistricts of Jerusalem District but only 51% in Jericho subdistrict (18.3% and 15.3% in Auja and Nu'eima camps respectively). The latter figures suggest that many of the refugees originating from the 1948 exodus took part in the movement out of the Jericho area which followed the 1967 war.

3.3 Distribution by Type of Settlement:

The only source which indicates the distribution of the Palestinian refugees by type of residence is the Israeli 1967 census. Such data are absent from later Israeli statistics, as well as from the UNRWA and Jordan sources throughout the whole period since the 1948 exodus. Table 3.5 and Figure 3.3, which show the distribution of the Palestinian refugees by type of residence, reveal that, by 1967, about 43% of the total refugees in the West Bank lived in camps, while there were 27.8% and 29.2% living within the urban and rural settlements, respectively.

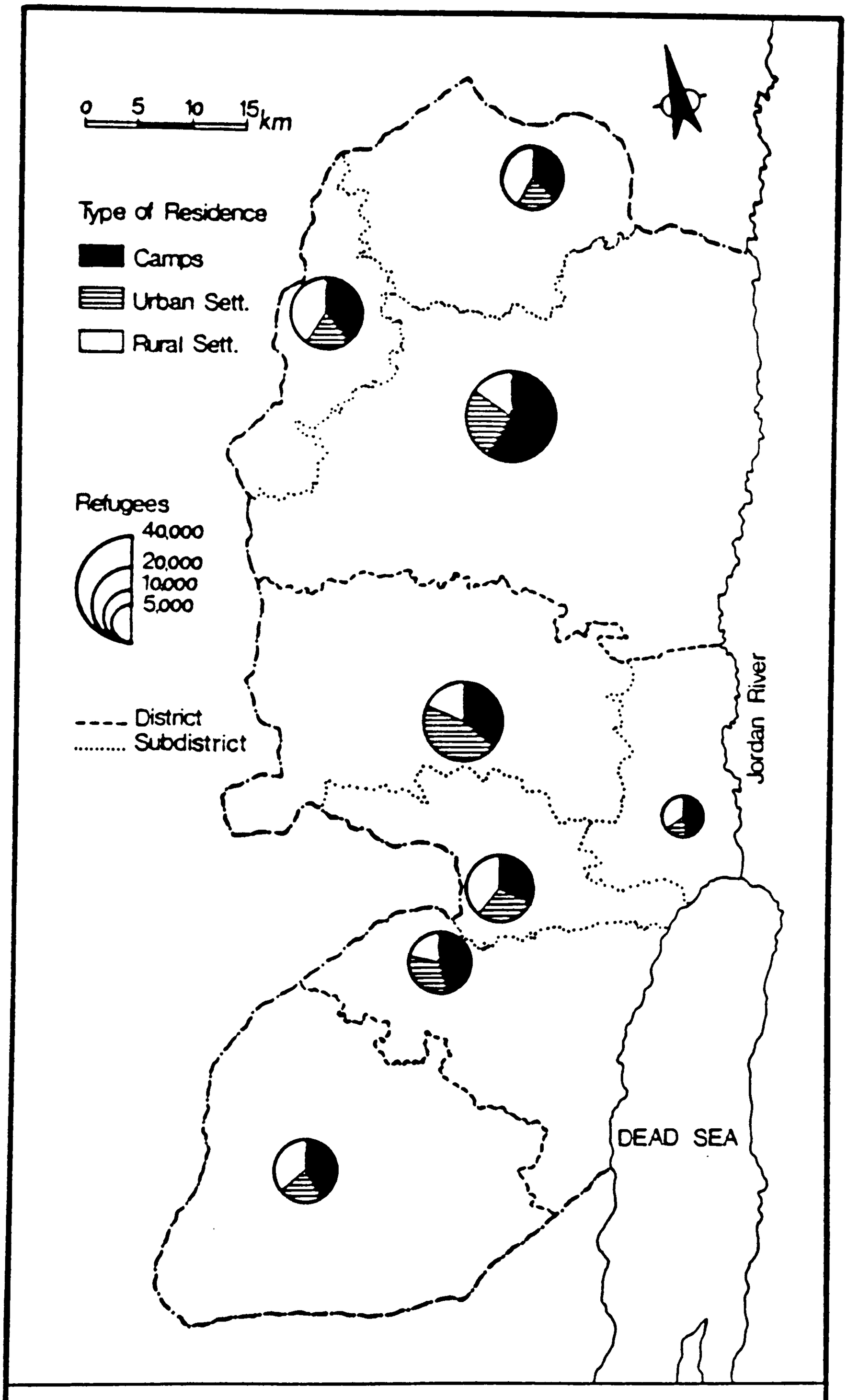

Fig 3.3 Distribution of the Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank, by Type of Residence,1967.

Source of Data: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.

Jerusalem District contained 55.2% of the total urban refugees in the West Bank, followed by Nablus with some 37% and the Hebron with about 7.8%, figures which are directly related to the concentration of urban centres in Jerusalem (7) and Nablus (4) Districts. In addition to this , it is clear that Nablus District contained about 46% of the total rural refugees in the West Bank, Jerusalem about 41% and Hebron only 13%, as a result of the heaviest concentration of agricultural lands being in Nablus and Jerusalem Districts. By 1965, these two Districts had about 48.9% and 33.3% respectively of the total agricultural lands in the West Bank, while Hebron contained about 17.8% (Jordan Department of Statistics, 1967). Thus, the refugees in Nablus District concentrated mainly in camps (47.9%), and then in villages (29.5%) and in towns (22.6%), while in Jerusalem District there were 38% in the refugee camps, 34.8% in the towns and 27% in the villages. In Hebron District, too, the highest concentration of refugees was in camps (42.5%), followed by villages (36.5%) and then by Hebron city (21%).

These figures differ again between the Subdistricts. More than 58.5% of the refugees in Nablus Subdistrict were concentrated in camps, while Jerusalem had the lower percentage of its refugees concentrated in camps at about 32%. With regard to the urban settlements, it is clear that Ramallah had more than 45.5% of the refugees settled in urban centres, while Jericho contained the lowest percentage (17.8%). The highest concentration of refugees in rural settlements within the Subdistricts was in Jenin (42.4%), while the lowest was in Nablus (15.4%).

As already mentioned, the data from Israeli sources differ widely from those of UNRWA represented in Tables 3.6-3.8 and Figures 3.4&3.5. These show that, between 1971 and 1986, the total number of refugees in the West Bank rose from 273,264 to 365,315, an increase of 33.7%. At both dates only about a quarter of them lived in refugee camps.

Table 3.6
Ditribution of the Refugees Registered with UNRWA
in the West Bank, 1st July 1971

Refugee Camps in Subdistricts	In Camps	Not in Camps	total	Ref. No. to the Maps
Nablus District	37,816	83,846	121,662	
Nablus	20,918			
No.1	2,606			1
Balata	8,881			2
Asker	5,891			3
Fara'a	3,540			4
Tulkarm	10,402			
Tulkarm	7,259			5
Nur Shams	3,143			6
Jenin (J.camp)	6,496			25
Jerusalem District	25,039	72,625	90,449	
Jerusalem	6,383			
Kalandia	3,026			7
Shu'fat	3,357			26
Ramallah	8,131			
Am'ari	3,604			9
Jalazone	3,600			10
Deir Ammar	0,927			11
Bethlehem	7,215			
Dheisheh	4,982			14
Beit Jibrin	0,716			15
Aida	1,517			16
Jericho	3,310	4,395	7,705	
Nu'eima	0,022			17
Ein el Sultan	0,594			18
Aqbat Jabr	2,694			19
Hebron District	6,294	47,642	61,151	
Al Arrub	3,766			22
Al Fawwar	2,528			23
Total	69,149	204,113	273,262	

Source: United Nations, 1971.

Table 3.7
Distribution of the Refugees Registered with UNRWA in the West Bank, 30 June 1986

Refugee Camps in Subdistricts	In Camps	Not in Camps	total	Ref. No. to the Maps
Nablus District	50,293	110,101	160,394	
Nablus	27,642			
No.1	3,633			1
Balata	11,800			2
Asker	8,004			3
Fara'a	4,205			4
Tulkarm	14,119			
Tulkarm	9,713			5
Nur Shams	4,406			6
Jenin (J.camp)	8,532			25
Jerusalem District	34,061	98,360	132,421	
Jerusalem	10,265			
Kalandia	4,968			7
Shu'fat	5,297			26
Ramallah	10,853			
Am'ari	4,758			9
Jalazone	4,882			10
Deir Ammar	1,213			11
Bethlehem	9,847			
Dheisheh	6,264			14
Beit Jibrin	1,260			15
Aida	2,323			16
Jericho	3,096	6,740	9,836	
Nu'eima	0,000			17
Ein el Sultan	0,611			18
Aqbat Jabr	2,485			19
Hebron District	8,091	64,409	82,347	
Al Arrub	4,776			22
Al Fawwar	3,315			23
Total	92,445	272,870	365,315	

Source: United Nations, 1986.

Table 3.8
Distribution of the Refugees Registered with UNRWA in the West Bank, 30 June 1986

District		In Camps	Not in Camps	Total
Nablus:	No.	50,293	110,101	160,394
	%	31.4	68.6	
	% of total	54.4	40.4	43.9
Jerusalem:		34,061	98,360	132,421
		25.7	74.3	
		36.8	36.0	36.3
Hebron:		8,091	64,409	72,500
		11.2	88.8	
		8.8	23.6	19.8
Total		92,445	272,870	365,315
		25.3	74.7	100

Source: Derived From table 3.7.

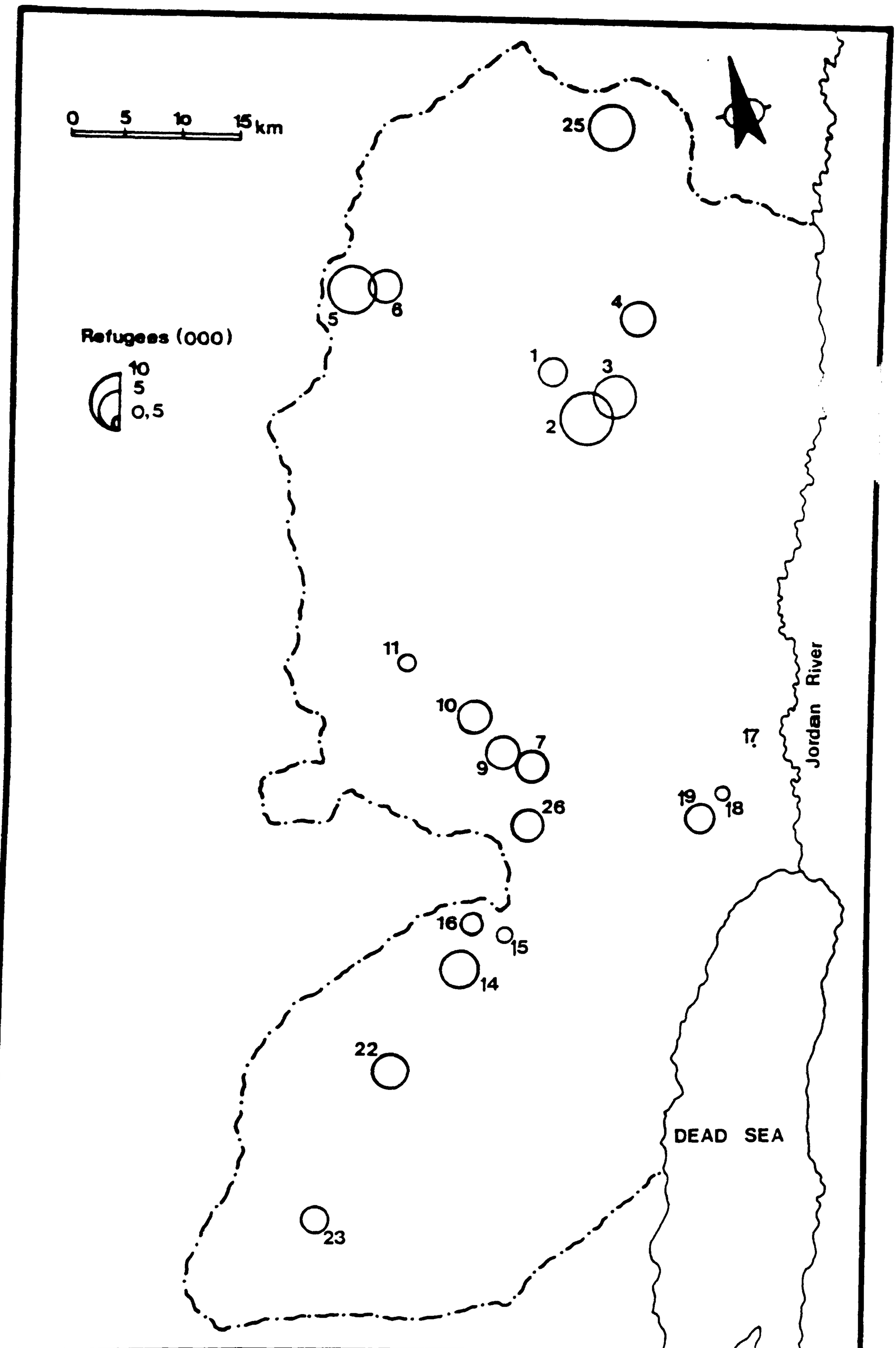

Fig 3.4 The Refugee Camps' Population Registered with UNRWA in the West Bank, 1971.

Source of Data: United Nations, 1971.

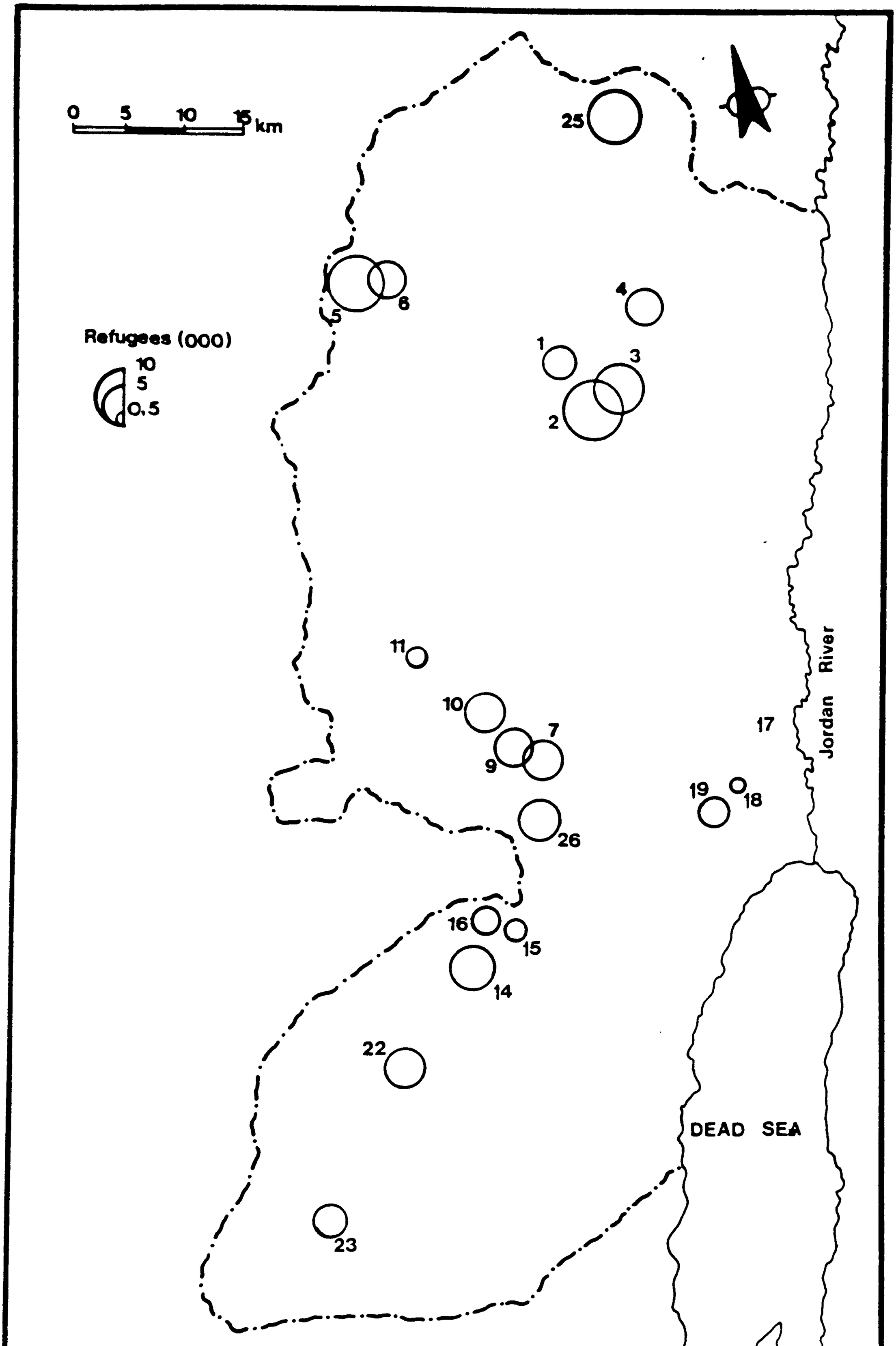

Fig 3.5 The Refugee Camps' Population Registered with UNRWA in the West Bank, 1986.

Source of Data: United Nations, 1986.

It is obvious that the distribution of the refugee camps' population in 1971 and 1986 was very different from that in 1952 or 1967. The greatest change was in Jericho Subdistrict, which contained only 4.8% and 3.4% of the total refugee camps' population in 1971 and 1986 respectively, as against 55.1% and 48% in 1952 and 1967, again indicating the high participation of Jericho Subdistrict in the exodus of 1967. This also explains the great decline in size of the Jericho camps, which, in 1952, had been the biggest in the West Bank. The population of Aqbat Jabr camp (19), for example, fell from 30,358 in 1952, to 2,694 in 1971 and 2,485 in 1986. At the latter dates, the biggest camps in the West Bank were concentrated in Nablus District i.e Balata (2), Asker (3), Tulkarm (5), and Jenin (25). It is also clear that by 1971 and 1986, Nablus District had the largest share (44%) of all refugees in the West Bank and the majority (54.4%) of those living in camps. Jerusalem District contained 36% of the refugees, both in or out of the camps, as against 73% or 61% of the refugee camps' population in 1952 and May 1967, respectively.

These changes in the distribution of the refugees, and of the refugee camps' population in particular, are related not only to the high participation of the Jericho area in the 1967 exodus, but also to the movement of refugees carried out before 1967 by the Jordanian government and by the UNRWA. Another factor was a certain amount of voluntary movement towards the interior areas of the West Bank, which were considered likely to be safer than border areas in times of conflict. In addition, intensive Israeli settlement in the lower Jordan valley caused Palestinians to move to other areas.

3.4 Built-Up Area and Density:

As a result of the enforced migration of refugees toward the West Bank, temporary tent camps were established as soon as possible after the 1948 war. These tent camps evolved into permanent camps and neighbourhoods. Almost all the camps

were established between 1948 and 1952, with the exception of Shu'fat camp, established in 1966 for refugees who had lived until then in the Mu'asker (unofficial) camp near the old city of Jerusalem.

Most of the refugee camps were constructed on governmental or state lands belonging to the state of Jordan, which are registered in the land registration office in the name of the King of Jordan, or of the British High Commissioner who preceded him (Drori, 1982). Such lands cover one-sixth of the entire area of the West Bank. Some camps, the Balata camp for example, were established on privately owned lands rented by UNRWA on a 99-year lease.

It is useful to distinguish three categories of building in the refugee camps:" (i) installations constructed or rented by UNRWA (for example schools, clinics and stores) which are in the possession of the Agency and used by it for the purpose indicated; (ii) shelters (huts) constructed and financed by the Agency, which are the dwellings of and in the possession of refugees; and (iii) houses and other buildings constructed and occupied or otherwise used by refugees or others, for some of which the Agency may at most have given some assistance at the time they were constructed" (United Nations, 1982. P. 27).

Some of these camps had houses built individually by each refugee family after the partition of the camp area into very small units according to the family size. In general, a family consisting of 4-5 members had one room of 12 sq.m, while a family of 6-8 members had two rooms, and so on. The area of land on which the hut was built did not usually exceed 80-100 sq.m. And by the 1980s, the sites of the refugee camps have become fully utilized for habitation (United Nations. n.d). In some camps UNRWA distributed housing free to the refugees, so that the ownership of the camps remained in its hands (Benvinisti, 1986).

In both cases, the refugee camps cover very small areas. The average built-

up area of a camp is only about 218 dunum or 0.22 sq.km, the smallest being the Ein el Sultan refugee camp (0.075 sq.km) and the biggest the Jenin and Kalandia camps (0.37 sq.km) as presented in Table 3.9. It is important to note that the areas of the 8 camps have not changed over the years since they were established.

Unfortunately, data on the built-up areas of the urban and rural settlements of the West Bank are not available to allow a comparison with the refugee camps in general or the eight camps covered by the 1987 sample survey in particular.

The figures in Table 3.9 indicate a very high population density in the refugee camps of the West Bank throughout the years. In 1952, the population density in the refugee camps ranged from 5,282 persons per sq.km in Kalandia camp to 74,973 in Ein el Sultan camp. It is clear that the average density figure for the 8 camps was strongly affected by the low density in Kalandia. If that camp is excluded, the average density rises to 18,073. UNRWA figures for June 1986 indicate that the total number of refugees in the eight camps, and the average population density in these camps were higher by about 58.7% over the 1952 level, a fact explained by the rapid natural increase; the transfer of refugees, and a large net migration gain. The latter was due to the Israeli limitations on travelling after 1967, and to the policy of giving visas only to those who already had jobs in the Arab oil countries. In 1986, the population density in the refugee camps ranged from 8,146 persons per sq.km in Ein el Sultan camp to 50,112 in the Dheisheh camp. There were 5 camps that recorded a lower density than the average 8 camps' density -Jenin, Al Arrub, Kalandia, Deir Ammar and Ein el Sultan camps-.

All these figures not only indicate the differences in the density of the refugee camps, they also indicate the large scale migration from and to these camps. There were 3 camps that recorded a lower population in 1986 as compared with 1952. Those who are residing in Al Arrub camp represent about 89% of its population in

Table 3.9
Population Density in Refugee Camps of the West Bank
1952& 1986

Camp	Gross Built-up Area (sq.km)*	1952 Registered Refugees	1952 Density	1986 Registered Refugees	1986 Density
Balata	0.25	4,112	16,448	11,800	47,200
Jenin	0.375			8,532	22,752
Nur Shams	0.175	3,613	20,645	4,406	25,177
Dheisheh	0.125	3,300	26,400	6,264	50,112
Kalandia	0.375	1,981	5,282	4,968	13,248
Deir Ammar	0.125	2,848	22,784	1,213	9,704
Ein el Sultan	0.075	5,623	74,973	611	8,146
Al Arrub	0.25	5,354	21,416	4,776	19,104
Total	1.75	26,831	15,332	42,570	24,326

* 1987 Sample Survey.
Source: Derived from tables 3.2,3.4&3.7.

1952; this percentage was 42.5% in Deir Ammar and was only 10.9% in Ein el Sultan. The remaining five camps increased their population about 22% in Nur Shams camp to about 187% in the Balata camp.

According to the UNRWA figures, in June 1986, the average density of the 8 refugee camps in the West Bank reached 24,326 persons per sq.km, higher than the average density of the eight refugee camps in the Gaza Strip (14,799). The latter figure is related to the large areas rather than to the number of residents of the refugee camps in the Gaza Strip. The average area of the Gaza camps was about 1,9975 sq.km (Dahlan, 1987), which is greater than the total area of the 8 sample camps in the West Bank.

3.5 Location of the Camps:

Figure 3.6 shows that the refugee camps are mainly located close to the urban centres in the West Bank, in particular to the seven centres which serve as Subdistrict capitals. Of the 20 refugee camps, 16 are adjacent to these towns. Close to Jenin, the northernmost town, is Jenin camp (25); southward there are three camps, No.1 (1), Balata (2) and Asker (3) adjacent to Nablus town, and on the west, near the armistice line, are two camps, Tulkarm (5) and Nur Shams (6) adjacent to Tulkarm town. Further south there are three camps, Kalandia (7), Am'ari (9), Jalazone (10) adjacent Ramallah, and then Shu'fat camp (26) which was set up directly to the north of Jerusalem, and the three camps, Dheisheh (14), Beit Jibrin (15), and Aida (16) which are close to Bethlehem. Three camps, Nu'eima (17), Ein sultan (18), and Aqbat Jabr (19) on the lower Jordan valley, are adjacent to Jericho town.

The other four camps, Fara'a (4) northeast of Nablus; Deir Ammar (11) northwest of Ramallah; Arrub (22) and Fawwar (23) north and south of Hebron, were set up outside the town boundaries. The camp most distant from an urban centre

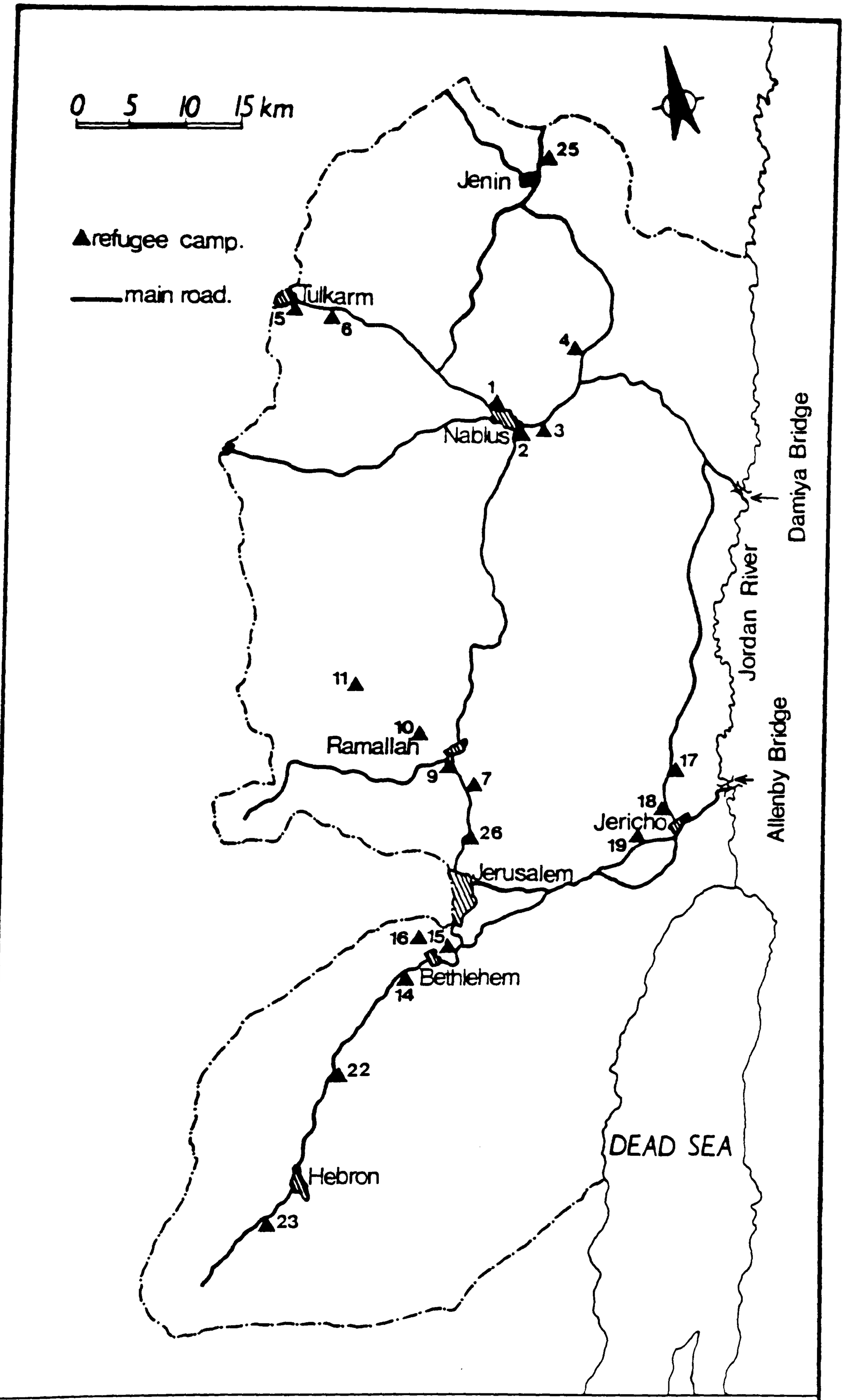

Fig 3.6 Refugee Camps: Locations and Main Towns & Roads.
based on: Palestine Map. Scale 1: 250.000.

is Al Arrub (22); which lay about 12 km. north of Hebron. When we consider that the main function of these towns is District Governor Centres, the most likely reason for the camps' locations in the West Bank is that related directly to the political circumstances, i.e the need for the local authorities to keep control over the camps and their inhabitants.

Figure 3.6 also shows that, of the 20 refugee camps, 17 are situated close to first class roads, while the remaining three camps, Jalazone (10), Deir Ammar (11) and Aida (16) are adjacent to a second class road. Thus the camps are all in easily accessible locations. In addition to this, there are seven camps in Nablus District with easy access to Damiya Bridge, and 13 camps, most of them in Jerusalem District, close to the Allenby Bridge, which connects the East and West Banks of Jordan.

Figure 3.7 indicates the distribution of the camps in relation to relief, and reflects the fact that the locations of the camps follow those of the main towns, which lie on the ancient hill road. It shows that, of the 20 camps, 17 lie the hilly region: 14 of them are on the middle and upper western slopes of the hills; two camps are adjacent to the foothills at the eastern edge of the coastal plain,and only Fara'a is on the eastern slopes. The other three camps lies near Jericho in the Jordan rift valley. It shows also that there are three camps lying below the sea level between 100-200 m below S.L; four camps up to 300 m; four camps between 300-600 m, while the remaining nine camps lies above 600 m.

3.6 Influences Upon Population Distribution:

The most significant fact with regard to the distribution of refugee camps in the West Bank has been the artificial locations set up in the absence of any freedom of choice for the Palestinian refugees. Thus, the physical factors which influence the location of the 12 urban and about 400 rural settlements for example, can have had

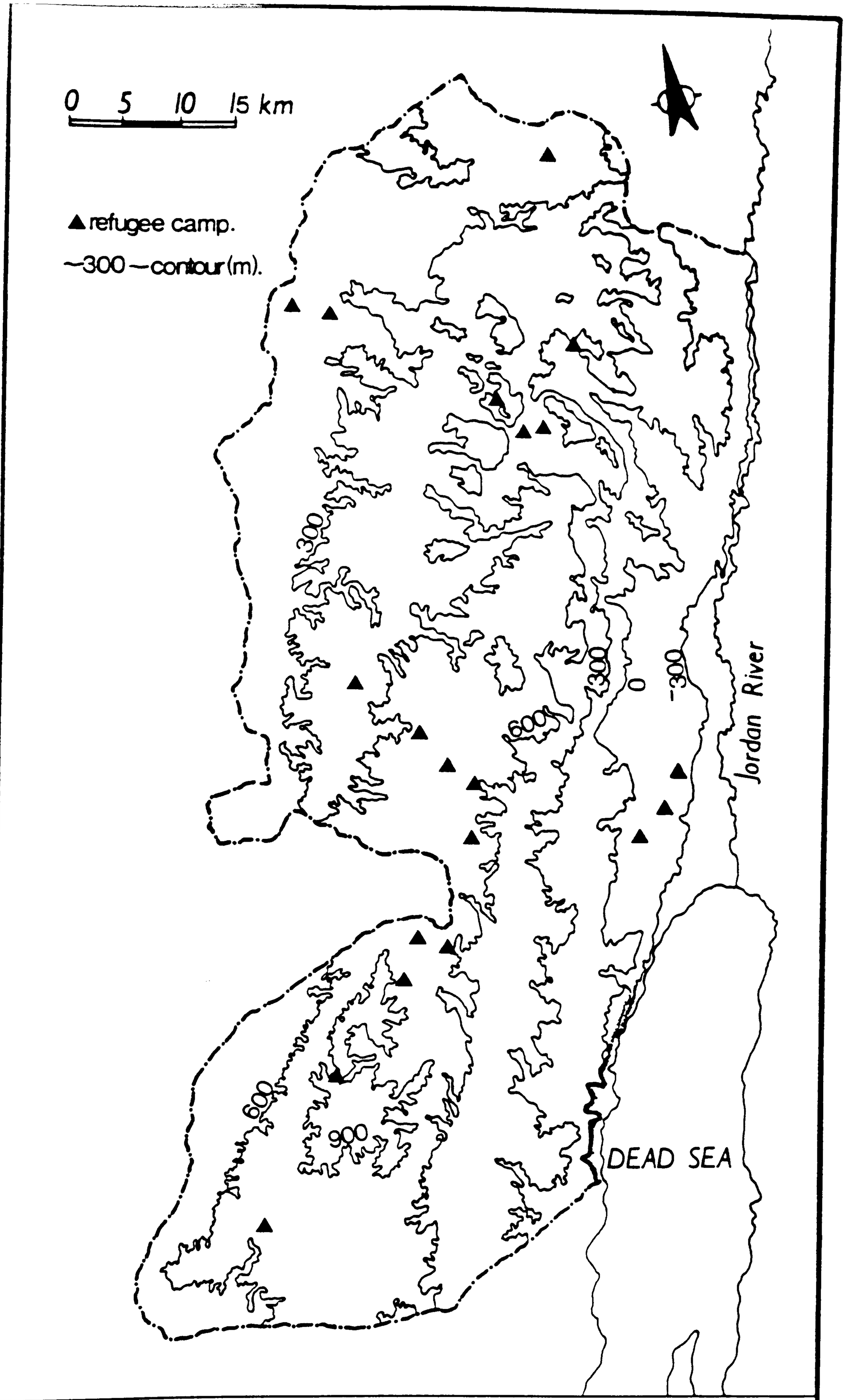

Fig 3.7 Refugee Camps: Locations and Contour Depicting Relief.

based on: Palestine Map, Scale 1: 250,000.

little effect on the distribution of the refugee camps in the West Bank.

Political Orientation: A major factor in the location of the camps has been the policy of the Jordanian government towards the refugee population of the West Bank after its annexation in 1950. This policy was concerned mainly with trying to keep peace in the border areas, as an applied aspect of the armistice agreement with Israel, which had been signed in April 1949. As Plascov (1981, pp.77-187) points out, "To check the growing movement of the Palestinians to and from Israel, the Jordanians decided to "thin out" the border areas, and to move the concentrations of refugees who lived in the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) refugee camps close to the border to new camps further east.... Thus, in June 1950, the Jordanian government ordered the removal of all refugees to a position 20 km. east of the border lines.... the reason for the camp remaining at Tulkarm was mainly fortuitous.... the recommendation of the area commander to move the refugees from Nur Shams camp was not accepted.... Most of the bedouin refugees of Jericho area moved to camps in Jenin [new camp], Tulkarm, Balata, Asker, Fara'a, Arrub and Deir Ammar.... And by 1954, the government moved some of bedouin tribs to the Azraq region in East Bank.... Al Azzah, Qaddurah, and Mu'asker [unofficial] camps near Jerusalem moved to Dheishah, Bira and Shu'fat [new] camps, respectively.... In 1963, the Jordanian government urged the refugees near the north frontier village of Rummana to leave the village lands because of their proximity to the border".

From this point of view, the UNRWA had its own attitude toward the Jordanian government policy in moving refugees, ranging between rejection and acceptance according to its own considerations. The movement of the refugees away from the border lines in June 1950 coincided with UNRWA's policies, mainly because large central camps were easier to maintain and administer than small dispersed ones; an additional difficulty in reaching camps near the border lines was the less developed roads. On the other hand, for example, prior to June 1967, UNRWA refused to coop-

erate with the Jordanian government in the removal of the population of Qaddurah camp on the grounds that it was not an UNRWA official camp. For their part, the refugees had viwed the move with suspicion; they wished to remain in sight of their occupied homes, always hoping to return. A movement to another camp in the east signified for them that their absence from their homes was not temporary (Plascov, 1981).

Most of the refugee camps were set up on crown lands, where there was space available and land available for grazing. In the early 1950s, when the refugees were scattered all over the West Bank, a few of them settled on privately owned land, and the landowners claimed that the government should remove them to other places. These complaints occured in the Jerusalem area in particular, when the landowners of Al Azzah and Aida camps requested that both camps should be removed to Dheishah camp near Bethlehem. Thus, political considerations were not the only ones which directed the Jordanian government policy in regard to the sites of refugee camps.

Other Factors which have played a restricted or indirect role upon the distribution of the refugee camps in the West Bank, are predominantly economic. In this context it is worth pointing out that the West Bank was the less-developed part of the Palestine Mandate; the majority of the larger towns and the richest farmlands were in the coastal plain, which represented the most favourable area for the creation of the Jewish state in Palestine at that time.

The need to provide work for Palestinian refugees who fled to the West Bank in 1948, together with need for an increased food supply created by the arrival of large numbers of refugees, were incentives to create employment in the West Bank. This meant increased employment opportunities for displaced persons. It has already been mentioned that Jerusalem and Nablus Districts together contain some 82% of the total farmlands in the West Bank, and this was worked almost entirely by labour

and draft animals; there were only 23 tractor ploughs in the West Bank by the year 1952. Thus the agricultural sector presented the possibility of absorbing more new workers, as a result of the high demand for agricultural crops, food crops in particular, resulting from the flight of the Palestinian refugees into the West Bank. This pushed the owners of farmlands to increase their food production (Ennab, 1979).

On the other hand, the main characteristic of the industries, which had been founded in the West Bank prior to the year 1950, was the reliance on manual labour and the low level of mechanization, using little power and raw materials which came mainly from the agricultural sector. The main developments regarding industrial employment within the West Bank were the expansion of existing plants as well as increasing the number of plants yielding the same products. The number of plants with over 5 workers increased from 254 in 1954 to 910 by 1965, a growth of 260%; this increase rose to 878% in plants yielding foodstuffs, from 32 in 1954 to 313 in 1965, and achieved 600% in plants yielding construction materials, from 29 to 203 between 1954-65 (Ennab, 1979).

The most important industries had been concentrated in two towns: Jerusalem and Nablus, in addition to some traditional factories in the other towns. About 93% of the total plants in the West Bank were concentrated in Jerusalem and Nablus Districts by 1965. About 3,532 or 93% of the total plants in the West Bank were small plants of less than 10 workers. Of these, about 902 plants, or 25.5% produced foodstuffs; 798 plants, or about 22.6% produced construction materials such as concrete works, masonry work, furniture and carpentry; 625 plants, or about 17.7% worked in metals -smithcrafts, blacksmith and tinsmiths- in addition to mechanics and fitters shops; 501 plants, or about 14.2% worked in leather -primitive work shops and shoemaker shops; 460 plants, or about 13% worked in woven fabric and clothes (Jordan Department of Statistics, 1967).

These figures again indicate the heavy dependence on manual labour, so that, owing to the increased demand for goods resulting from the influx of refugees, these industries needed larger numbers of low paid workers, a situation which also applied in the agricultural sector.

Thus, most of the refugee camps were concentrated in Jerusalem and Nablus Districts, while Hebron had only two of them. These economic factors also motivated the Jordanian government to concentrate the refugee camps near the main towns, where their inhabitants were most likely to find employment.

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CHAPTER FOUR

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REFUGEE CAMPS

4.1 Administration of the Refugee Camps:

In spite of the fact that the refugee camps were established by UNRWA, only the buildings used by the Agency for administration may be considered as international premises; the refugees' dwellings themselves can not be considered as UNRWA premises. Refugees inside the camps do not have a special legal connection with UNRWA, just as is the case with those refugees outside the camps. The legal connections of both are with Jordan, of which they are citizens (Buehrig, 1971).

The UNRWA works through field offices composed of two branches: services and refugee camps. Each camp is headed by a Director appointed by the Agency, a former refugee who lives in the camp and serves as a liaison officer between the Agency and the camp. His official duties are to superintend food and welfare distribution and registration, and to control settlement in the camp (Benvinisti, 1986).

The initial responsibility of UNRWA was to resettle the Palestinian refugees together with any other persons who, prior to the 1948 exodus, had normally resided with them as members of their families. Such persons were entitled to occupy accommodation in one of the UNRWA-organized camps, with the right to remain in occupation until such time as the Palestinian question could be solved. Accommodation was allocated to refugees who applied to UNRWA for accommodation or for assistance in obtaining accommodation when the Agency had reason to believe that the individual was both a genuine refugee and in need. The registered refugee who becomes ineligible for any or all of UNRWA's services is not required to leave the Agency camp. On the other hand, any refugee who wishes to leave the camp can do so, but this involves renouncing his right to accommodation and UNRWA services,

and relinguishing his registration card (Interview, 1987).

With regard to the legal status of UNRWA, its personnel and its provision of services, UNRWA's relations with the territorial authorities of the host government and Israel have been difficult over the years (Buehrig, 1971). The governments of the host countries remain responsible for the maintenance of law and order, the administration of justice and similar governmental functions as part of their responsibilities towards the population within their borders (United Nations, 1982). UNRWA, as has been shown, is responsible for general assistance, including the maintenance of roads and paths, water supply, medical care, education, food and welfare distribution, etc. and in some camps, youth activity centres.

After an initial period of emergency aid, provided by voluntary agencies and co-ordinated by the UNRPR, it became clear that international assistance should be orientated towards the resettlement of the refugees and their economic and social development. Consequently UNRWA was established by the U.N General Assembly in 1949, replacing the UNRPR organization; UNRWA began its operations in May 1950 (United Nations. n.d). The intended role of UNRWA, as set out by the U.N Economic Survey Mission in November 1949, can be summarized as follows: (United Nations. 1959)

(i) *The temporary task of providing subsistance, medical care, shelter and education for the refugees.*

(ii) *The continuing long-term task, which aims at allowing the refugees to become self-supporting.*

In 1952, the U.N General Assembly authorized UNRWA to spend $ 250 million over a period of three years to "reintegrate" the Palestinian refugees into the economy of the areas in which they resided (Gama, 1972). The refugees themselves feared that "reintegration" would lead to the permanent absorption of the Palestinians

in the neighbouring countries. By 1954, UNRWA was limiting its activities primarily to meeting the temporary needs of the Palestinian refugees (Smith, 1984).

As regards the provision of UNRWA services to registered refugees, it is important to realise that, despite the need, in principle, for a refugee to establish his eligibility to receive these services, the registration of ineligible refugees is not wholly ruled out. Thus the official records of the Agency divided refugees, on the basis of their eligibility and needs, into the following categories (United Nations, 1985):

Category 'R' : *refugees eligible for all Agency Services, including rations as well as health and education services. Infants prior to their first birthday are included in this category.*

Category 'N' is divided into three classes:

'Na' : *eligible for restricted UNRWA services; i.e health and education services only.*

'Nb' : *permanently ineligible for UNRWA services (Frozen Eligibility).*

'Nc' : *Women whose eligibility is frozen as a result of marriage to a non-refugee or to an unregistered refugee.*

Categories Nb and Nc constitute refugees who become self-supporting and then receive no assistance of any kind.

Over the years, the emphasis in UNRWA's work has shifted towards education and training, as an applied aspect of the long-term task. For the Palestinian refugees, deprived of a home-land, education is often the only investment that can be handed on to their children. By 1964, UNRWA expenditure on education had reached about 39.5% of the Agency expenditure, and had risen to 69.6% by 1986. Expenditure on medical and health services increased from 13.1% to 16.9%, while relief services decreased from 47.4% to only 13.4% over the same period (United Nations, 1965 &1986).

In 1972, UNRWA expenditure on basic rations (including supplementary

feeding, shelters and hardship assistance) amounted to only $ 11.04 a year for each refugee registered with the Agency. It was impossible for the Agency to add meat, fruits or vegetables to the basic rations, which consisted of flour, suger, rice, pulses and oil. Expenditure on medical and health services amounted to only $ 3.58 a year for each refugee, while education received only $ 13.61 a year. Expressed otherwise, UNRWA's total expenditure on relief for each refugee amounted on average to less than $ 28.23 a year (United Nations, 1972).

4.2 Transportation and Communications:

It has been noted that the refugee camps of the West Bank are mainly located close to the urban centres and to the main first class roads. The 1987 sample survey carried out by the author records that seven of the eight sample camps are connected by main roads built of asphalt to the main towns of the West Bank, which means it is easy and safe to walk between the refugee camps and the towns. Only one camp -Ein el Sultan- is connected by an earth road and then by the main asphalt road to Jericho town.

In most cases, the public road runs through the camp and divides it into two parts, within each of which narrow paths separate the dwelling blocks. This arrangement follows the pattern of side-streets in the old cities of the West Bank. The long, narrow paths of the refugee camps are more diverse, however, than the side-streets of the towns. The latter can be described as improved roads built of cobble-stones, while the surface of paths in the refugee camps varies from asphalt to cement to earth, and can be described as paved roads, while all paths of Ein el Sultan camp are just earth. Several lengths of Dheisheh and Deir Ammar camps paths are built of asphalt, the others are earth; four camps -Balata, Jenin, Kalandia and Al Arrub- have lengths built of asphalt or cement, or just earth; and most paths of Nur Shams camp are built of cement or are still earth.

Seven of these camps, as a result of their being situated very close to the main towns of the West Bank, have no taxi or bus station. Deir Ammar refugee camp has these facilities as it lies relatively far to the north of Ramallah town.

Only one camp, Al Arrub camp north of Hebron town, has a post office. None of the camps has a public telephone to serve the refugee camps population; this ensures, again, the dependence of the refugee camps on the public services of the main towns of the West Bank.

4.3 Educational Services:

As has been shown, UNRWA has a special, limited operational responsibility; its function is essentially the provision of relief, health and education services to the Palestinian refugees in co-operation with the governments in each of the host countries, including rehabilitation by training.

The education services are provided jointly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and UNRWA. Under an agreement between UNRWA and UNESCO, UNRWA is responsible for administration of the educational system, while UNESCO is in charge of the teaching programme, which includes general education at elementary and preparatory levels in Agency schools, vocational and teacher training at Agency centres, and a university scholarship programme. Many refugee pupils continue their secondary education in government schools of the West Bank, or in private schools. The education staff in the West Bank is headed by a locally recruited field education officer, working under the professional guidance of the Director of education and of the specialist staff of the department of education at UNRWA H.Q in Jerusalem (United Nations. 1982).

The UNRWA education programme has been influenced by many factors, such as the Agency's lack of funds for school construction on the scale required; the unrest and demonstrations in the West Bank for unknown periods, leading to

disruptions in the operation of Agency schools; and the Israeli attitude toward the Jordanian prescribed textbooks for the West Bank. Of the 79 textbooks approved by UNESCO in 1981/82, the Israeli authorities have refused import permits for 11 (United Nations. 1982).

4.3.1 General Education:

At the elementary level, which comprises the first six years, and at the preparatory level, comprising the next three years, UNRWA schools accommodate most of the refugee children, while government and private schools with financial assistance from UNRWA admit others at these levels. At the secondary level, the last three years of general education, UNRWA does not operate schools of its own, but provides assistance in the form of grants-in-aid to eligible students attending government or private schools (United Nations, 1968).

In the 1967/68 school year, a total of 24,582 refugee pupils was enrolled in 89 Agency elementary and preparatory schools in the West Bank, of which 42 schools were UNRWA built, while the rest (47) were rented. A further 12,971 refugee pupils were known to be enrolled in government and private elementary and preparatory schools, and 2,746 refugee pupils enrolled in government and private secondary schools (United Nations, 1968). This indicates that about 15,717 pupils or 39% of the total refugee pupils in the West Bank were enrolled in non-UNRWA schools, and only about 6.8% continued to the secondary level.

By 1972/73, the number of refugee pupils receiving education in UNRWA schools in the West Bank had increased to 30,387, about 23.6% more than in 1967/68, enrolled in 87 Agency schools. A further 21,086 refugee pupils were enrolled in government and private elementary and preparatory schools, or about 41% of the total refugee pupils (United Nations. 1973).

Data for the 1983/84 school year, record 39,939 refugee pupils enrolled in UNRWA schools, an increase of 31.4% over the 1972/73 figure and 62.5% above that for 1967/68. The number of the Agency schools increased to 98 or about 12.6% more than in 1972/73. These were served by 1,297 teachers (United Nations, 1984); therefore there were 30.3 pupils per teacher in an UNRWA school in the 1983/84 school year.

These figures indicate that the average number of refugee pupils in each UNRWA school was about 276 in 1967/68, increasing to 349 in 1972/73, and to 407 in 1983/84. This is explained, partly, by the natural increase and partly by Agency's lack of funds for the construction of additional schools (United Nations, 1982).

The 1987 survey records 26 UNRWA schools situated in the eight sample camps. Five of these camps -Balata, Jenin, Kalandia, Deir Ammar and Al Arrub- each have two elementary and two preparatory schools, one for males and one for females at each level, while two camps -Nur Shams and Dheisheh- each have two schools, one elementary and one preparatory, for males only; here the female pupils are enrolled in the Agency rented schools situated in the adjacent towns. Only Ein el Sultan camp has two coeducation schools, one for each level. It is evident that the registered refugees of the eight camps (42,570), were not only served by the 26 Agency schools situated in these camps, but there were other pupils who enrolled in the schools rented by the Agency, or in the governmental or private schools situated in the adjacent towns.

4.3.2 Vocational and Technical Education:

In 1959 and thereafter, vocational training became a new and important element in the UNRWA programme of "reintegration" of the refugees in the host countries. Of the Agency's seven residential two-year vocational and technical train-

ing centres, two are in the West Bank. One is Kalandia, a vocational training centre, where courses are offered in metal, electrical and building trades, beginning at the end of the preparatory level. Courses offered in technical, commerical and the paramedical fields begin at the post-secondary level. The other is Ramallah women's vocational training centre, where courses are offered in various skills such as dressmaking, clothing, hairdressing and secretarial work. In 1985, the number of males enrolled in Kalandia centre was about 520, whereas the number of females enrolled in Ramallah centre was about 288 (United Nations, 1985). These figures indicate the limited capacity of these two centres to accept Palestinian refugees eligible for this form of assistance, which, in general, does not exceed 20% of the total. This is due mainly to the limited financial resources of the Agency, which prevents the expansion of the programme (United Nations, 1982).

4.3.3 Teacher Training:

Teacher training aims primarily at providing qualified teachers for UNRWA schools, and accepts Palestinian refugee candidates who have successfully completed twelve years of general education, providing them with a two-year professional training programme. This qualifies them to teach at the elementary school level, giving them priority for Agency appointments. In 1985, teacher training at the two centres in Ramallah involved 390 females and 350 males (United Nations, 1985). The Agency arranged basic in-service teacher training courses for them through the Institute of Education, which forms part of the department's teacher and higher education division.

As in all activities of UNRWA, teacher training is influenced by interruptions due to the political situation in the West Bank.

4.4 Health Services:

Health services are provided jointly by the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNRWA. The health services of UNRWA in the West Bank, as in the other host countries, have been designed to provide curative and preventative services to the Palestinian refugees.

4.4.1 Curative Services:

In the West Bank, UNRWA administers a small cottage hospital of 36 beds in Qalqilya town, but for assistance it depends mainly on government and private hospitals. In 1985, a total of 274 hospital beds were available to UNRWA, and the number of patients admitted was 12,364 (known to be in-patient). Out-patients totaled 117,568, and the refugees who attended for medical treatment totaled 821,649, while those who attended for dental treatment numbered 30,197 (United Nations, 1985). The Agency also administers a central laboratory in Jerusalem, in addition to some clinical laboratories, where simple tests are carried out (United Nations, 1982).

The 1987 sample survey records one Agency clinic, in addition to the private clinics, in each of the eight refugee camps. The existence of private clinics in these camps is likely to be due to the inadequate medical services provided to the refugee population by the Agency's clinics, where each has only one practicioner, whose duty is to visit the clinic in the mornings. Technicians provide usual treatment, and transfer urgent cases to one of the government or private hospitals. This level of medical services is likely to be promoted or lowered in accordance with the availability of financial resources concerning UNRWA (Interview, 1987).

4.4.2 Preventative Services:

Prevention and control of communicable diseases are among the main con-

cerns of UNRWA's department of health. Infant and young children attending the Agency clinic receive immunization against tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, poliomyelitis and measles. Reinforcing doses of vaccines are given to children on admision to school (United Nations, 1982).

Despite the absence of clinics specifically for mothers and children in the refugee camps of the West Bank (1987 sample survey), however, maternal and child health care is provided in the Agency clinics. In the West Bank, in 1985, the average monthly attendance of pregnant women was about 1,694 , the average attendance of children below 3 years about 17,209 (consultations are monthly for age group 0-1 year; bi-monthly for age group 1-2 years, and tri-monthly for age group 2-3 years), about 17,046 school children were examined in 1985, and the routine immunization records 40,208 (United Nations, 1985). These groups _ infant, pre-school and school children, and pregnant women_ receive nutrition including supplementary feeding of milk and mid-day meals, as one of the important features of UNRWA's health services.

In addition, UNRWA is interested in the environmental health of the refugee camps and, in co-operation with the territorial authorities, municipalities and local councils, provides supplies of potable water, sanitation, drainage of storm water, etc. UNRWA is also involved in nursing services, and in medical and paramedical education and training, aiming to provide nursing training, and technician, public health, and assistant pharmacist courses (United Nations, 1982).

The UNRWA expenditure on medical and health services amounted to only $ 3.58 a year for each refugee, as has been shown. Although a wide range of services is provided, the limited scale on which this can be done is indicated by the low expenditure levels.

4.5 Social Services:

By taking into cosideration the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the refugee camps as urgent-temporary shelters, built and financed by international assistance, populated by only the poorer refugees, it is understandable that utilities such as electricity, sewage, water supply, and shops, etc. adequate to serve the refugee population were not included at the time of their establishment.

4.5.1 Utilities in the Refugee Camps:

To this day, in spite of UNRWA co-operation with the local authorities, to provide basic services in the refugee camps of the West Bank, such as electricity, sewage and water supply, one may note that these services do not meet refugee needs in these camps.

Water-Supplies, in the early days of the camps' life, were mainly provided by communal outdoor taps. After that, UNRWA built water reservoirs in most of these camps. At present, as recorded in the 1987 sample survey, seven of the eight refugee camps have indoor taps and only one camp -Ein el Sultan- still depends on the taps in the yard. Most of the seven camps dwellings, from 87.1% in Kalandia to 100% in Deir Ammar refugee camp, have taps indoors.

Sanitary disposal of waste is still insufficient in most of the refugee camps of the West Bank. The 1987 sample survey records only one camp -Balata- having public sewage connected to the Nablus municipal sewage system; 94.7% of the Balata camp dwellings and some 26.6% of the Jenin camp dwellings are connected to the Jenin municipal sewage system. Almost all of the remainder (seven camps) depend for the most part on absorption pits.

Electricity was also not provided to the refugee camps of the West Bank, in the early stages. At this time kerosene was almost the only source of lighting.

UNRWA made efforts to provide electricity for the refugee camps, in co-operation with the local municipilities of the main towns, and succeded in connecting most of these camps with the local electricity stations. The 1987 sample survey records seven camps having public electricity, while only one -Ein el Sultan- still depends on kerosene. Most of the refugee dwellings in these seven camps -from 91.4% in Kalandia to 100% in Deir Ammar and Al Arrub refugee camps- depend on electricity for lighting. Most of these services are provided by UNRWA along with contractual arrangements with the nearby municipilities.

4.5.2 Other Social Services:

It has been noted that, for reasons beyond the control of UNRWA, the development and rehabilitation projects, aiming at settling the Palestinian refugees, had failed during the period of 1950-55. Thus, in the period 1955-59, UNRWA carried out small-scale self-help projects providing shops, barbers, carpentries, tin smiths, etc. The 1987 sample survey records shops in the eight refugee camps. There is a bakery in six camps, a butcher and barber in five camps,an electrician in four camps, a T.V repair shop in three camps, and a mechanical repair shop in Balata camp only.

Youth Activity Centres, were set up in most of the refugee camps, by UNRWA. The main activities of the centres are sport and culture and they usually participate in self-help projects and recreational programmes. The 1987 sample survey records six camps with youth activity centres, and only two camps -Dheisheh and Ein el Sultan- without these centres.

Finally, the 1987 survey records no cinemas in the refugee camps of the West Bank.

4.6 Summary:

From the above discussion, we can note that the most distinctive characteristic of the refugee camps, since the year 1948, has been the absence of human opportunities and the artificial foundation of the refugee camps. This concept is quite different from the founding concept of the older urban and rural settlements of the West Bank.

The second distinctive characteristic of the refugee camps in the West Bank, has been their limited areas, which have remained the same since their foundation, as has been shown, (p. 62) despite a large population growth. The prime purpose was the establishment of a temporary shelter for the Palestinian refugees who fled in 1948, close to the main urban centres and to the first class roads of the West Bank for political reasons. As a result, in the refugee camps today reside the third generation of refugees, while the fourth generation is already starting to appear. They now appear to be permanent settlements. In addition, there is also the high dependance of the refugee camps on the community services of the urban centres of the West Bank; the existence of the extended families in these camps; the rise in population density; and the outflow of the new family units towards the urban centres of the West Bank, or abroad.

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CHAPTER FIVE

HOUSING CONDITIONS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS

5.1 Introduction:

On the basis of the UNRWA definition of the term refugee, 91.1% of the households residing in the eight sample camps are registered with UNRWA, irrespective of their category of registration. The remaining 8.9% originate from the West Bank and are thus considered as non-refugees (see Chapter 6). Table 5.1 indicates that 19.6% of the registered households residing in these camps receive UNRWA assistance, while the residue (80.4%) receive no Agency assistance, but benefit from the normal services provided by the Agency in these camps, such as sanitation and education.

More than a quarter of the registered households in the refugee camps of Hebron District receive Agency assistance; this proportion declines to less than a fifth in Nablus and Jerusalem camps. The differences between the three Districts in the proportions receiving UNRWA assistance may be related to the percentage of households with monthly incomes below 50 J.D, which was 23.2% in Hebron District compared with 20.2% in Nablus and only 9.4% in Jerusalem Districts.

The high percentage of refugees who do not receive UNRWA assistance (80.4%) in the refugee camps as a whole, is likely to be due to the Agency's investigations into eligibility for Agency assistance which would reveal the level of self-sufficiency. This seems to be greater in the Nablus and Jerusalem Districts than in the Hebron District camps; whereas in Hebron 56.5% of the camps' households have monthly incomes under 100 J.D, and only 7.2% have monthly incomes over 150 J.D, this latter percentage increases to 21.5% and 19.1% of the camps' households in the Jerusalem and Nablus Districts, respectively. In other words, the percentage

Table 5.1
Households by Registration With UNRWA, Agency Assistance & Household Income in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987. by District

District		Registration With UNRWA		UNRWA Assistance *		Household Monthly Income (J.D) * *				Households
		Register	Not R.	Receive	None	-49	50-99	100-149	150 +	
Nablus	No.	360	7	70	290	74	115	108	70	367
	%	98.1	1.9	19.4	80.6	20.2	31.3	29.4	19.1	100.0
	% of total	63.0	12.5	62.5	63.2	68.5	52.0	59.3	60.3	58.5
Jerusalem		165	26	30	135	18	83	49	41	191
		86.4	13.6	18.2	81.5	9.4	43.5	25.7	21.5	100.0
		28.9	46.4	26.8	29.4	16.7	37.6	26.9	35.4	30.5
Hebron		46	23	12	34	16	23	25	5	69
		66.7	33.3	26.1	73.9	23.2	33.3	36.2	7.2	100.0
		8.1	41.1	10.7	7.4	14.8	10.4	13.7	4.3	11.0
Total		571	56	112	459	108	221	182	116	627
		91.1	8.9	19.6	80.4	17.2	35.3	29.0	18.5	100.0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

* For the Registrants Only.

* * One Jordan Dinar= 2 Pounds.

of households in the refugee camps with monthly incomes less than 150 J.D reached 92.8%, 80.9% and 78.5% in the Hebron, Nablus and Jerusalem Districts respectively, which again reflects relatively better economic conditions in Nablus and Jerusalem Districts. These low levels of income may also explain the difficulty of improving housing conditions in the refugee camps.

5.2 Type of Houses:

It is important to point out, first, that dwellings provided by UNRWA at the time of establishment of the camps were of the simplest kind, originally comprising a single room with, in most cases, no amenities. In every instance, however, these basic structures have been improved by the addition of a second or a third room, to expand the dwelling to accommodate two or three new family units within an extended family. As the presures on the housing capacity continued to grow with the natural increase of the refugee camps' population, a second floor was often added after the replacement of the original building materials. These had usually been mud bricks, which were replaced by materials which were structurally adequate. The space and the dwelling which were intended, in many camps, for a certain number of refugees are now occupied and utilized by two or three times that number.

Table 5.2 shows that 85% of the houses in the refugee camps are one-storied and only 15% have two stories. About 91% of the private and rented houses are of the single-storey type, whereas this declines to 84% in UNRWA houses, where the two-storey houses rise to 15.8%, indicating again the neccesity for additional rooms within the limitation of the camp's area. This suggests that the residents of the private and rented houses enlarge their houses horizontally, while the refugees in UNRWA houses build vertically to meet the need for more rooms. Improvements in the refugees' accommodation have been assisted by the employment of the refugee camps' inhabitants in Israel after 1967, as well as by money transfers from abroad.

Table 5.2
Ownership of the House, by Type of the House, Surface, No. of Rooms, Date of Building&Building Materials in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Ownership of the House		Total	Type of the House		Surface of the House		Number of Rooms					Date of Building		Building Materials		
			one floor	Two floor	less than 100 sq.m	100 sq.m &over	1	2	3	4	5+	before 1969	1969 * or later	Stone or concrete blocks	Bricks or bricks with stone or cement	other materials
Private	No.	33	30	3	20	13	1	8	9	6	9	20	13	4	29	
	%	5.3	90.9	9.1	60.6	39.4	3.0	24.2	27.3	18.2	27.3	60.6	39.4	12.1	87.9	
	% of total		5.6	3.2	4.6	6.9	5.6	5.8	4.5	4.3	6.6	6.3	4.2	7.4	5.3	
Rented		23	21	2	13	10		7	6	6	4	14	9	4	19	
		3.7	91.3	8.7	56.5	43.5		30.4	26.1	26.1	17.4	60.9	39.1	17.4	82.6	
			3.9	2.1	2.9	5.3		5.1	3.0	4.3	2.9	4.4	2.9	7.4	3.4	
UNRWA		571	481	90	406	165	17	122	183	126	123	284	287	46	503	22
		91.1	84.2	15.8	71.1	28.9	3.0	21.4	32.0	22.1	21.5	49.7	50.3	8.0	88.1	3.9
			90.4	94.7	92.5	87.8	94.4	89.1	92.4	91.3	90.5	89.3	92.9	85.2	91.3	100
Total		627	532	95	439	188	18	137	198	138	136	318	309	54	551	22
		100	84.8	15.2	70	30	2.9	21.9	31.6	22	21.6	50.7	49.3	8.6	87.9	3.5

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

* Taken as the first relatively stable year following the war of 1967.

The figures in Table 5.2 also show that 70% of the refugee camps' houses have each been built on a surface area of less than 100 sq.m, while the rest most probably enlarged their housing lands unofficially by the annexation of some square metres of land from the adjacent yards at the edge of the camps. The average area covered by the houses in the refugee camps is 81.6 sq.m, which gives an average of 9.93 sq.m per person in the refugee camps of the West Bank, compare with 18.8 sq.m per person for the West Bank population as a whole. In the latter case, the average area of the dwelling rises to 124.3 sq.m, while the average number of persons per household declines to 6.6 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985), as against 8.22 persons in the refugee camps.

Table 5.2 shows that about a quarter of the refugee camps' households live in houses of two rooms, less than a third live in houses of 3 rooms, and more than two fifths live in houses of 4 or more rooms. It has been mentioned earlier that UNRWA provided one or two rooms according to family size but, with the natural increase in the refugee population, the percentage of houses with three or more rooms has risen to 75%.

More than half the refugee camps' houses were built before 1969. In the case of private and rented houses, more than 60% are in this category but of UNRWA houses less than half were built before 1969. With regard to the houses built after 1969, most of these buildings were, in fact, replacement of mud bricks by new building materials rather than brand new houses on empty spaces within the very small area of the camps. It has been noted earlier that UNRWA, after they had divided the area of the camps, distributed lands to the refugees, and this had led to the absence of available land within the camps.

Some 88% of the refugee camps' households live in houses built of bricks: the outer walls are made of sun-dried bricks of clay and sand, or of bricks with stone

or cement, and 8.6% live in houses the outer walls of which were made of stone or concrete blocks; the remaining 3.9% live in houses constructed of other materials with walls built of wood, tin sheets, or of mixtures of these materials along with bricks, or cement. All of these are living in UNRWA houses. The fact that the highest percentage of houses in the refugee camps of the West Bank are built of brick, but the fact that these are only sun-dried, may partly, explain the low proportion of two-storey houses in these camps.

The 1987 sample survey carried out by the author, reveals that more than three-quarters of the households residing in the refugee camps of the Nablus District live in brick and cement houses; this reached 86% in Balata refugee camp. 43% of the households residing in the refugee camps of Jerusalem District live in brick houses, and 40% live in brick and cement houses. The proportion of brick houses reached more than two thirds in Ein el Sultan refugee camp, and the brick and cement houses reached 62.6% in Dheisheh camp. In the refugee camps of the Hebron District, for instance in Al Arrub camp, three quarters of the households reside in brick houses. The differences in house-type and building materials used in refugee camps of the three Districts may be related to the relatively better economic conditions in the Nablus and Jerusalem Districts compared with the Hebron District, due to the geater opportunities for employment for refugees in these two Districts.

Table 5.3 shows that 98.6% of the houses in the refugee camps of the Hebron District are single-storey, while the percentage of two-storey buildings rises to 13.6% in the Jerusalem refugee camps and to 18.5% in the Nablus refugee camps. Table 5.3 also shows that 69.4% of the refugee camps houses are terraced-style dwellings, with no space between neighbours; this reaches 80% in Nablus refugee camps. 81% of the houses have no garden or open space, and only in the Jerusalem refugee camps does the percentage of houses which have a garden rise to nearly 25%. These features of the refugee camps are explained by the very small land area of the camps and the

Table 5.3
Type of the House, Distance to the Closest Neighbour, and House Garden in the Refugee Camps- West Bank, by District, 1987.

District		Type of the House		Distance to the Closest Neighbour		House Garden		Households
		Single-Storey	Two-Storey	Terraced	Detached *	with Garden	None	
Nablus	No.	299	68	293	74	62	305	367
	%	81.5	18.5	79.8	20.2	16.9	83.1	100.0
	% of total	56.2	71.6	67.4	38.5	51.7	60.2	58.5
Jerusalem		165	26	102	89	47	144	191
		86.4	13.6	53.4	46.6	24.6	75.4	100.0
		31.0	27.4	23.4	46.4	39.2	28.4	30.5
Hebron		68	1	40	29	11	58	69
		98.6	1.4	58.0	42.0	15.9	84.1	100.0
		12.8	1.1	9.2	15.1	9.2	11.4	11.0
Total		532	95	435	192	120	507	627
		84.8	15.2	69.4	30.6	19.1	80.9	100.0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.
* Have a distance of one metre or more.

very small area available for houses, as well as by the need of the refugees to build additional rooms due to the natural increase in population.

5.3 House Ownership:

Despite the fact that UNRWA camps in the West Bank, have been built on state lands or on lands rented by the Agency, and despite the fact that the Agency provided dwellings to refugees in these camps, the refugees living in the camps only own their houses and not the land on which they are built, in other words, they are leaseholders rather than freeholders. UNRWA "ownership" of lands or houses, then, is no more than a figurative expression, indicating the housing-land and the buildings provided by UNRWA, and distinguishing these from private or freehold lands and houses.

Table 5.4 shows that 97% of the houses in the refugee camps of the West Bank have been built on land provided by UNRWA. The remaining 3% have not been built or financed by UNRWA, or have not been built on the lands provided by the Agency, whether it is private or owner-occupied (1%), or rented (2.1%). This indicates that the private housing construction in camps still plays only a marginal role.

The differences between UNRWA ownership of land (97% or 608) and houses (91.1% or 571) is explained by movement of refugees out of the camps, involving 37 refugee households or 5.9%. Contrasts between the figures on ownership of the land and that of the house (Table 5.4) indicate that, while the privately owned lands numbered 6, that of the houses totaled 33, showing that 27 of these houses had been built on land provided by UNRWA and bought, thus, from refugee households. It is also indicate that 23 houses are rented, 13 of which had not been built on lands provided by the Agency; thus the other 10 were rented from refugees. It is known

Table 5.4
Type of Ownership of the Housing-Land,House, and Annual Rent in the Refugee Camps-West Bank,1987. by District

District		Ownership of the Land			Ownership of the House			Annual Rent (J.D)		Households
		UNRWA *	Private * *	Others	UNRWA * * *	Private * *	Rented	-99	100-150	
Nablus	No.	365	1	1	360	5	2	1	1	367
	%	99.5	0.3	0.3	98.1	1.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	100.0
	% of total	60.0	16.7	7.7	63.0	15.2	8.7	5.6	20.0	58.5
Jerusalem		183	2	6	165	15	11	9	2	191
		95.8	1.0	3.1	86.4	7.9	5.8	4.7	1.0	100.0
		30.1	33.3	46.2	28.9	45.5	47.8	50.0	40.0	30.5
Hebron		60	3	6	46	13	10	8	2	69
		87.0	4.3	8.7	66.7	18.8	14.5	11.6	2.9	100.0
		9.9	50.0	46.2	8.1	39.4	43.5	44.4	20.0	11.0
Total		608	6	13	571	33	23	18	5	627
		97.0	1.0	2.1	91.1	5.2	3.7	2.9	0.8	100.0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.
* Housing-Land provided by UNRWA.
* * Freehold.
* * * Dwelling provided by UNRWA.

that refugees who wishes to leave the camp can sell their houses or put them up for hiring if they wish; UNRWA have not rejected this.

Table 5.4 shows that 91.3% of the tenant households paid less than 12.5 J.D per month, while the residue did not paid more than 15 J.D per month. This low rent level reflects the poor housing conditions in the refugee camps, as well as the poor background of the tenants who in the most part originate from the West Bank villages.

5.4 Housing Density:

It has been noted that households in the refugee camps tend to be larger than those living in the villages or towns of the West Bank by an average of 1.25 persons, and that the average area of the house in the refugee camps is 42.69 sq.m less than the average area of houses in the West Bank, while the average number of rooms in houses is nearly the same at 3.6 rooms (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985). This means that rooms in the refugee camps are smaller than the West Bank average. These figures show that the refugee camps' households are more crowded than the others in the West Bank. Table 5.5 shows that the average number of persons per room in the refugee camps is 2.26, compared with about 1.83 in the West Bank as a whole.

The average number of persons per sleeping room reflects more clearly the housing density in the refugee camps, revealing overcrowding as one of the serious housing problems in the camps. This density is more than 4 persons of different ages, sleeping together in one room, even though this room is small. This density increases again to 5.11 persons in Ein el Sultan camp, and to 5.52 persons in Deir Ammar camp, reflecting the poor housing conditions in the refugee camps of the West Bank in general.

Table 5.5
Housing Density in the Refugee camps-West Bank, 1987
by District & Camp

District	Camp:	Households	Average No. of persons	Average No. of rooms *	Average No. of persons per room	Average No. of sleeping rooms	Average No. of persons per sleeping room
Nablus:		367	8.29	3.57	2.32	2.04	4.64
	Balata	171	8.33	3.19	2.61	2.09	3.99
	Jenin	124	8.28	3.89	2.13	1.89	4.38
	Nur Shams	72	8.24	3.96	2.08	2.14	3.85
Jerusalem:		191	8.27	3.69	2.24	2.10	3.94
	Dheisheh	91	8.32	3.61	2.30	2.25	3.70
	Kalandia	70	8.44	3.81	2.21	2.18	3.87
	Deir Ammar	21	8.67	4.00	2.17	1.57	5.52
	Ein el Sultan	9	5.67	2.89	1.96	1.11	5.11
Hebron:							
	Al Arrub	69	7.61	3.79	2.00	1.90	4.01
Total		627	8.22	3.64	2.26	2.04	4.03

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

* Room, which serve the household for residance were counted: living, dinning& sleeping rooms.

The differences between the three Districts' camps indicate the two major influences upon room densities. In Nablus camps, the average number of persons in the household is highest (8.29) and the average number of rooms is lowest (3.57), thus the average number of persons per room is highest (2.32), while in Hebron camps, the density is lowest (2.0), as the average number of persons in the household is lowest (7.61) and the average number of rooms is highest (3.79).

In addition to the influence of the average number of persons of the household in these Districts' camps, there is also the influence of the average number of sleeping rooms as shown in the average number of persons per sleeping room data, where Nablus camps record the highest (4.64) and the Jerusalem camps record the lowest (3.94).

Table 5.5 also indicates that density in Ein el Sultan, as expressed by the average number of persons per room is affected more by the average number of persons in the household than by the average number of rooms. On the other hand, density as expressed by the number of persons per sleeping room is more affected by the average number of sleeping rooms than by the average number of persons.

These figures suggest that Ein el Sultan camp is the poorest camp in the West Bank. This is clearer when taken into consideration with the public utilities and building materials as previously discused. These data illustrate, once again, the fact that the Jericho area was the first area in the West Bank which lost population in the 1967 exodus, leading to the small size of the households in its camps -Ein el Sultan being one of them.

Table 5.6 summarizes and presents further evidence of the housing density in the refugee camps, compared with the West Bank and Israel. These data indicate that three quarters of the refugee camps' households have a density of 2 persons or more per room, while the proportion at this density is about 65% in the West Bank

as a whole, and only 21% in Israel. Some 55% of the refugee camps' households have a density of 2-3 persons per room, while the proportion at this density declines to 29% and 11.8% in the West Bank and Israel, respectively. In Israel, 37.3% of the households have a density of less than one person per room. In the West Bank as a whole, this percentage is less than 7%, and it is less than 0.5% in the refugee camps. These figures indicate that almost all of the refugee camps' households live in high density housing conditions.

Table 5.6

Housing Density in the Refugee Camps,

West Bank& Israel

Person per room	Refugee Camps(1) persons	(%)	West Bank(2)	Israel(2)
less than 1	25	0.48	6.7	37.3
1-1.99	1262	24.5	28.0	41.8
2-2.99	2832	54.98	28.9	11.8
3+	1032	20.03	36.4	9.1
Total	5151	100	100	100

Sources:
1) The 1987 Sample Survey.
2) Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985.

If one considers only households in the West Bank with an average of 3 or more persons per room as suffering from inadequate housing (Abu Kishk, 1980 & 1983), then 20% of the refugee camps' households compared with 36.4% in the West Bank as a whole, can be placed in this category. This is likely to be due to the fact that villagers in the West Bank often use rooms in their houses for many purposes; for animals, storage or as a shop, thus only one or two rooms may be used for sitting or as sleeping rooms, and here the entire family will sometimes all sleep together.

The figures in Table 5.7 give further evidence of the great housing prob-

lems in the refugee camps of the West Bank. More than 99% of the refugee camps' inhabitants share a sleeping room with another person; 92.59% share a sleeping room with 2 or more persons; and some 24% share a sleeping room with 5 or more persons.

Table 5.7

Average No. of Persons Per Sleeping Room in Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Person per Sleeping room	Persons	(%)
less than 2	42	0.82
2-2.99	1418	6.63
3-5.99	2477	68.99
6+	1214	23.6
Total	5151	100

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Obviously, the housing density of the refugee camps is high. If one considers the limited area of the refugee camps, as well as the natural increase of the camps' population, then one can see that the housing conditions in the refugee camps are continuing to deteriorate.

5.5 Household Facilities and Equipment:

The Israeli figures of 1967 show that most of the households residing in the refugee camps of the West Bank, were living in significantly poor conditions: they lived without basic facilities. Only 6.8% of all households had running water inside the house, while the remainder depended on taps in the yards or on the wells or on water from streams; about 27.5% of the households had no toilet, and some 93.4% had no bath; 50.3% had no kitchen, and some 92.9% had no electricity for lighting (Israel

Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968). This lack of facilities in the refugee camps of the West Bank results from a lack of neccessary finance to provide the basic facilities to the refugee camps' households. It also indicates that, although UNRWA has given assistance, it was at a low level and not sufficient to provide refugee households living in the camps with these facilities throughout the 20 years of the camps' life since the 1948 exodus.

Since 1967, the employment of many refugees in Israel and the remittances from refugee migrants to their relatives have allowed considerable improvements to be made; nevertheless, some households still lack these facilities. As Table 5.8 shows, 93.6% of the households in the refugee camps have running water inside the house, while the rest still depend on public taps in the yards, or on water from streams. 31.7% of the households have sewerage pipes, while the majority, 64.4%, rely on absorption pits as a temporary and inadequate solution to the sewage and waste problem dangerous for public health, especially when taking into consideration that these absorption pits require periodic collection. The others, some 4%, remain with no sanitary facilities. The number of households with no toilet has decreased to 2.6%, while the rest have toilets, either inside, 74.3%, or outside, 23.1%, the house ; of these, 11.1% are shared. Table 5.8 also shows that 19% of the households in the refugee camps still have no bathrooms, while the rest have bathrooms, either inside,74.8%, or outside, 6.2%, the house; of these, 9.6% are shared. Households with no kitchen, have decreased to 2.6%, while the rest have kitchens, either inside, 82.6%, or outside, 14.8%, the house; of these, 10.3% are shared.

The existence of some basic amenities outside refugee houses, may be explained by the initial nature of the house. At the time of their establishment, UNRWA only provided one or two rooms, without basic utilities, the very small area of the houses also explains the need for external amenities.

Table 5.8
Household Facilities in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Facilities	Households	% of all Households	Facilities	Households	% of all Households
Water Source:			outside, shared	3	0.5
running water in dwelling	587	93.6	No bath	119	19.0
public tap in the yard	32	5.1	*Kitchen:*		
other	8	1.3	inside, not shared	462	73.7
Sanitary Disposal of Waste:			inside, shared	56	8.9
sewer-lines	199	31.7	outside, not shared	84	13.4
absorption pit	404	64.4	outside, shared	9	1.4
No sewage	24	3.9	No kitchen	16	2.6
Toilet:			*Light:*		
inside the house, not shared	410	65.4	electricity	610	97.3
inside, shared	56	8.9	Kerosene	17	2.7
outside, not shared	131	20.9	*Heating:*		
outside, shared	14	2.2	charcoal	206	32.9
No toilet	16	2.6	Kerosene	114	18.2
Bathroom:			charcoal&kerosene	115	18.3
inside, not shared	412	65.7	electricity	103	16.4
inside, shared	57	9.1	other	89	14.2
outside, not shared	36	5.7			

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 5.9
Household Possessing Durable Goods in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Durable Goods	Households	% of all Households	Durable Goods	Households	% of all Households
Gas Cooker:			*Television:*		
have	609	97.1	have	573	91.4
have not	18	2.9	have not	54	8.6
Oven:			*Radio:*		
have	304	48.5	have	532	84.8
have not	323	51.5	have not	95	15.2
Refrigerator:			*Tape Recorder:*		
have	565	90.1	have	502	80.1
have not	62	9.9	have not	125	19.9
Washing Machine:			*Telephone:*		
have	353	56.3	have	16	2.6
have not	274	43.7	have not	611	97.4
Solar Heater:			*Private Car:*		
have	398	63.5	have	63	10.0
have not	229	36.5	have not	564	90.0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

97.3% of the households have electricity for lighting, while the rest still depend on kerosene. 69.4% of the households still depend on charcoal or kerosene or a combination of the two for heating the house in the winter, while 16.4% depend on electric heating stoves, and 14.2% depend on gas or gas in combination with charcoal or kerosene; in some cases open fires using tree branches are used.

Since 1967, the Israeli free flow of used durable goods into the West Bank, such as televisions, washing machines, refrigerators and cars etc, have allowed many of the West Bank families with low incomes to consume these goods, while many others still lack them by reason of their poverty in particular. Ownership of various durable consumer goods is shown in Table 5.9. 2.9% of the households remain without cooker; more than 50% have no oven; some 10% have no refrigerator; 43.7% have no washing machine, in the absence of which hand washing becomes the usual method of cleaning clothes; 36.5% have no solar heater for water heating, and these mainly depend on kerosene or firewood.

Some of the refugee camps' households in the West Bank, still have no T.V and radio information services. 15.2% have no radio; 8.6% have no T.V. Most of them have no means of communication or transportation; 90% of the households have no private car, and 97.4% have no private telephone.

5.6 Summary:

From the above discussion about the housing conditions in the refugee camps of the West Bank, we can note the following points: Firstly, there are no camps that have lost their status as refugee camps. Secondly, it is generally not possible to develop new residential areas, so that the demand for space in the camp is great because of the population growth. And, finally the houses in the refugee camps are of small size and have fewer facilities, reflecting the low economic status and the

unhealthy conditions of the refugees, as well as the low level of UNRWA assistance to the Palestinian refugees.

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CHAPTER SIX

POPULATION OF THE REFUGEE CAMPS

6.1 Origins of Population:

The 1987 10% Household Survey, carried out by the author, covered 627 households residing in eight refugee camps of the West Bank. 401 (64%) of the household heads originate from the 1948 exodus, having been born in Israeli territory before 1948, while their descendants born after the original exodus and forming separate family units numbered 170 or 27.1% of the household heads. Together, these two categories represent about 91.1% of the households residing in the eight refugee camps, while the residue, 56 or 8.9%, originate from the West Bank (see Table 6.2).

All the refugee camps' inhabitants in the West Bank can be described as Palestinians, since the West Bank formed part of pre-1948 Palestine. Consequently, the internal migration within the West Bank, from urban and rural centres toward the refugee camps, produced only Palestinian residents in these camps. In addition, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank during the 1967 war put an end to uncontrolled movements between the West Bank and Jordan, preventing the possibility of residence of non-Palestinians in the refugee camps of the West Bank.

However, in the Arab host countries, such as Lebanon and Syria, internal migration to the Palestinian refugee camps has produced a non-Palestinian element in the population of the camps. As Table 6.1 shows, this amounts to some 8.8% overall, ranging from 0.7% to 3.4% in the Lebanese camps and from 3.5% to 25% in the Syrian camps. The majority of the non-Palestinians were Lebanese or Syrians; for example Jaramana camp - 5 km from Damascus - contains 5,199 Syrians, 24.7% of the camp's inhabitants.

Table 6.1

Population of the Refugee Camps in Lebanon (1980) and Syria (1982) by Original Nationality. *Percentage.*

L e b a n o n									
Shatila		Sabra		Burj el Barajneh		Ein el Helwea		Meih Meih	
P	nP	P	nP	P	nP	P	nP	P	nP
97.4	2.6	96.6	3.4	98.4	1.6	99.3	0.7	98.7	1.3
S y r i a									
Khan Dannon		Khan al Sheeh		Sebena		Jaramana		Sit Zeinab	
P	nP	P	nP	P	nP	P	nP	P	nP
96.5	3.5	95.6	4.4	82.5	17.5	75.0	25.0	91.8	8.2

P: Palestinians nP: non-Palestinians.
Sources:
1) PLO Central Bureau of Statistics. 1980.
2) 1982.

As a result of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the exodus of the Palestinian refugees occured under battle conditions. The original refugees had come from many different places and were now living together, with their descendants, through force of circumstances, as presented in Table 6.2. Based on the UNRWA definition of the term refugee, the figures in Table 6.2 indicate that about 91.1% of the households of the refugee camps in the West Bank originate from pre-1948 Palestine, either directly or as descendants of the original refugees, while the remaining 8.9% originate from the West Bank, and are thus considered as non-refugees. The data also indicate that the great majority (80.4%) of the refugee camps' households in the West Bank, whether they are original or descendants, originated from the central coastal plain, which is adjacent to the West Bank. The proportions of refugees from other regions range only 0.6% to 3.7%.

A field-study of the Tal al Za'tar refugee camp in Lebanon carried out by

Mundus in 1974 shows that some 10,898 people or about 88.2% of the camp's inhabitants originated from Northern Palestine -Safad and Galilee- near to the Lebanese border. The central coastal plain provided only about 10.3%, and a very small proportion (0.2%) were from the southern part of the coastal plain and the Negev. This is due to the proximity of the central coastal plain to the West Bank, and the proximity of the south coastal plain and the Negev in the south to the Gaza Strip.

The figures in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.1 show, in accordance to the UNRWA definition of the term refugee, that all of the households of Deir Ammar refugee camp originate from the central coastal plain. This percentage ranges from 83.1% - 97.7% in the Nablus District camps -Balata, Jenin and Nur Shams. As for the Jerusalem District camps -Dheisheh, Kalandia and Ein el Sultan- this percentage ranges from 44.4% -81.3%. This percentage decreases to 20.3% in the Hebron camps -Al Arrub- .

The data also indicate that about 13.7% of the households of Jenin camp originate from Northern Palestine, and about 23.2% and 20.3% of Al Arrub camp households originate from south coastal plain and Beersheba regions, respectively. These figures again reflect the fact that the refugees took shelter in areas close to their place of origin. In the West Bank, they concentrated close to the main towns.

6.2 The Refugees' Choice of Camp:

As has already been shown, the vast majority of the population of the refugee camps were forced to live there by the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, and as a result of losing their homes, lands, livelihoods, villages and towns.

During the period 1950-66, mainly for political reasons (see Chapter 3) a large proportion of these refugees were collected from the unofficial camps and transfered to those organized by UNRWA and the Jordanian government. For example, a large proportion of the Balata camp refugees originating from the 1948 exodus first

Table 6.2
Refugee and Non-Refugee Households
in Refugee Camps- West Bank
by Origin&Camp, 1987

From: / Camp:	Refugees: North Palestine	Refugees: North Coastal Plain	Refugees: Central Coastal Plain	Refugees: South Coastal Plain	Refugees: South Palestine	Non-Ref. West Bank	Total	Reference Number to Fig. 6.1
Balata			167	1		3	171	1
Jenin	17	2	103			2	124	2
Nur Shams	1		69			2	72	3
Dheisheh			74	2	8	7	91	4
Kalandia			52	1	1	16	70	5
Deir Ammar			21				21	6
Ein el Sultan			4	2		3	9	7
Al Arrub		2	14	16	14	23	69	8
Total	18	4	504	22	23	56	627	

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

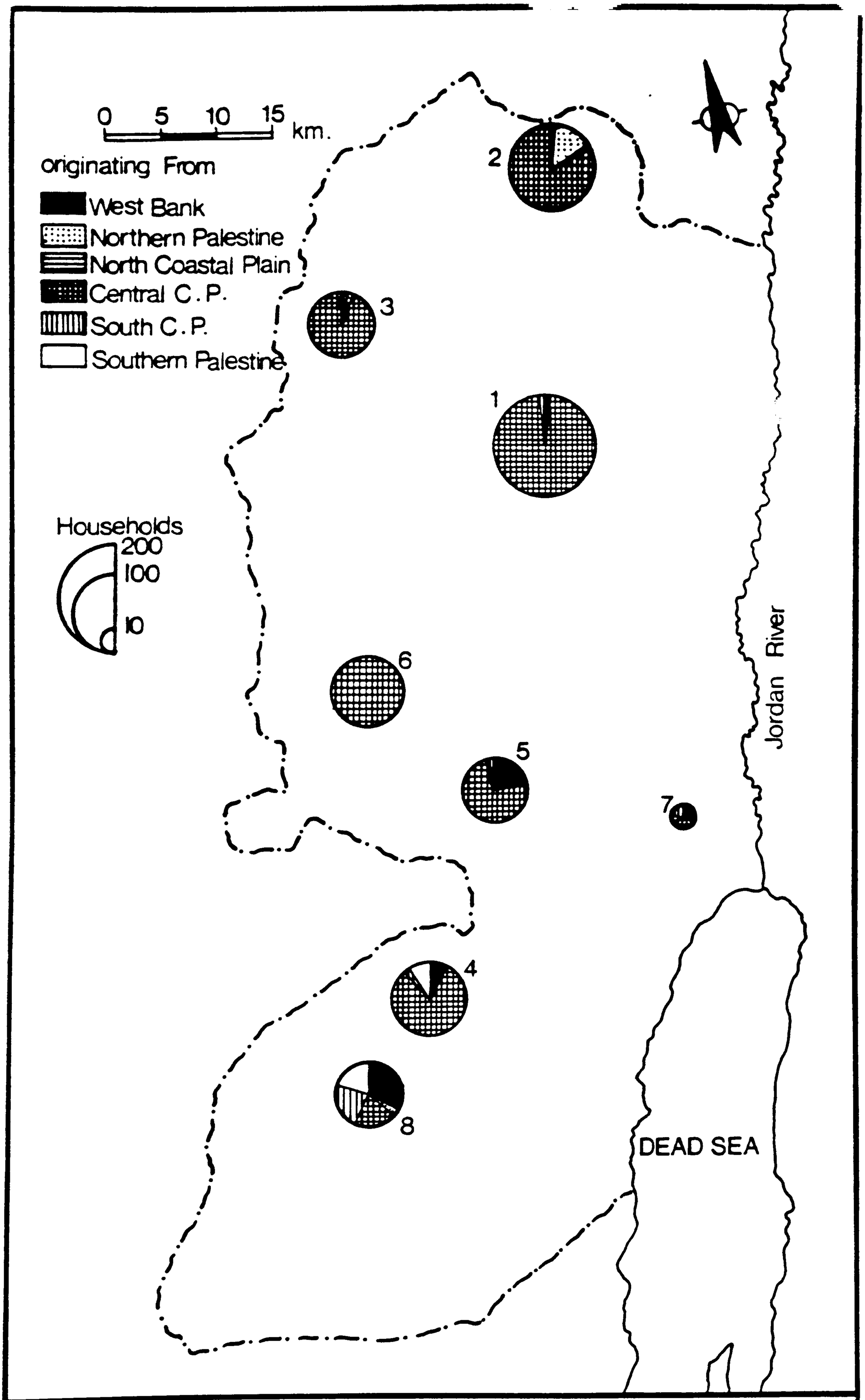

Fig 6.1 Households in the Refugee Camps_West Bank, by Origin.

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

took refuge, for about one year, near Qalqilyah town; they were then transfered to the western boundary of Nablus town, near Rafidiah village, where they lived for about two years before being transfered again, this time to the Balata camp, which had been established in 1950 (interview, 1987).

Since 1967 the distribution of the refugee camps' population has been influenced by the Israeli occupation and its settlements policy, particularly in the Jericho area. Immediately after the 1967 war, the Israeli settlement authorities began to plan the infrastructure required for a continious chain of settlements extending the whole length of the Jordan valley, that would constitute a "defence boundary" parallel to the Jordan river and facing Jordanian territory in accordance with the "Allon plan". Most of the 19 settlements involved were initially Nahal "Fighting Pioneer Youth" (Efrat, 1982). The Jordan valley settlements were linked, in the late 1970s, by the new Allon road, a modern rapid-transit military highway which runs accross the West Bank from east to west connecting these settlements with the main Israeli urban centres in the central coastal plain.

In the 1987 sample survey, all heads of household covered by the survey were asked the date on which they or their families had arrived in the camp and their main reason for chosing that camp. The reasons given were categorized into three main groups: social ties, including the presence of relatives, friends or people from the same place of origin; economic motives, including proximity to their place of work or to the cities; and forced movements from the first place of refuge to the camps after the 1948 exodus. The results are displayed in Table 6.3.

Only 36.3% of the refugee camp heads of household arrived in the eight camps during the period 1948-50, when refugees were widely scattered throughout the West Bank. A further 48.5% arrived between 1951 and 1966, the period during which many were transfered from unofficial to official camps. Thus some 85% of the

Table 6.3
Household Heads, by Date of Arrival to the Camps
&Reason for Choosing to live in
percentage

Reason: / Date of Arrival	Social Ties				Economic Reasons				Forced & Transfer	Other Reasons	Total
	Having Relatives	Having People from the Same Place of Origin	Having Friends	Total	Poverty	As the Camp Near the Place of Work	As the Camp Near the City	Total			
1948-50	22.8	9.6	0.4	32.9	22.4	2.6	2.6	27.6	36.4	3.1	228
	31.5	23.9	33.3	28.8	43.6	20.0	66.7	40.4	44.4	29.2	36.3
1951-66	26.3	21.7		48.0	13.5	2.3	0.7	16.5	31.6	3.9	304
	48.5	71.7		56.2	35.0	23.3	22.2	32.1	51.3	50.0	48.5
1967 and	34.7	4.2	2.1	41.0	26.3	17.9	1.1	45.3	8.4	5.3	95
after	20.0	4.4	66.7	15.0	21.4	56.7	11.1	27.5	4.3	20.8	15.2
Total	165	92	3	260	117	30	9	156	187	24	627
	26.3	14.7	0.5	41.5	18.7	4.8	1.4	24.9	29.8	3.8	100

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

total arrived before the 1967 war.

As regards their stated motives for choice of camp, among those who arrived in the period 1948-50, nearly one third (32.9%) made their choice on the basis of social ties, i.e the presence of relatives, friends or people from the same place of origin, a natural reaction to a state of exile and uprootedness. More than one-third (36.4%) had been forced to move from their first place of refuge and a further 28% made their choice for economic reasons. In the period 1951-66, social ties were dominant to an even higher degree (48%). Nearly one-third (31.6%) had been forced to move with only 19.2% basing their choice on economic motives. From 1967 onwards economic motives (45.3%) become dominant, closely followed by social ties (41%) with 8.4% forced to move, mainly because of the Israeli settlement policy in the West Bank. Thus the data indicate that social ties (41.5%) and forced transfer (33.6%) had far greater influence than economic factors (21.2%) over the refugees' choice of camps in the period 1948-66, whereas the influence of economic factors was greater from 1967 onwards -the latter reaching 45.3% after 1967 against 16.5% in 1951-66, due mainly to the need for cheap accommodation for many of the low income families, compared with the more expensive accommodation in the West Bank cities and villages.

6.3 Urban-Rural Background:

There have been several attempts to examine the extent to which Palestinian refugees living in the camps were derived from rural or urban areas.

A field-study of the Tal al Za'tar refugee camp in Lebanon carried out by Mundus in 1974 reflects the varied background of the camp's inhabitants of whom 13.1% originated from the urban centres of pre-1948 Palestine, while the residue (86.9%) were villagers , originating mainly from the northern Palestine villages in Galilee and Safad area.

The comprehensive survey carried out by Abdul Fattah in 1980-1982 in the 20 refugee camps of the West Bank indicated that all the refugee camps inhabitants were villagers (calculated by the author from the raw statistics obtained by Abdul Fattah); the same result was derived from the sample survey carried out by the author in 1987; and this agreed with Plascov's (1981) statement that almost all the refugees who ended up in organized camps were villagers.

The differences in rural-urban background between the Palestinians living in the refugee camps of Lebanon and the West Bank are likely to be due to the better economic conditions in the central coastal plain compared with northern Palestine in the period before 1948. In the West Bank, none of the urban refugees moved into camps.

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CHAPTER SEVEN
PATTERNS OF FERTILITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS

7.1 Introduction:

The continuous registration system of UNRWA in the Palestinian refugee camps provides data on the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the registered refugees residing in the camps, including their age, sex, birth, death, marital status, and economic status. The primary purpose of the system has always been the administrative control of assistance provided and the facilitation of proper planning for the future, but it may also be used as a source of demographic, social and economic information. In practice, however, the statistics based on the Agency's registration records are incomplete, and do not necessarily reflect the actual demographic characteristics, due to factors such as unreported births and deaths and false and duplicate registrations (United Nations, 1985).

Direct evidence of this is found in the fact that many births are registered as being 1 year or older. The UNRWA Registration Statistical Bulletin for the second quarter 1985, for example, shows a total registration of 2,040 births for the total 'registered population' in the West Bank. Of these, only 929 or about 45.5% are under age 1. In addition, there was a very low Infant Mortality Rate, a recorded total of 37 deaths, for all areas except Lebanon and the West Bank, for persons below 1 year of age. If this number is divided by the number for Jordan, Gaza and Syria registered as below 1 year (5,368), the IMR is 6.89 per 1000. This rate is much too low to be credible.

As a result, only very limited and specialized studies, using advanced demographic techniques, have been possible on the basis of the UNRWA data. Most of these cover all 'registered refugees' and may thus include refugees living outside the West Bank camps; Weller&Serow (1986), for example, suggest crude birth rates of 30.85 per 1000 males and 31.33 per 1000 females. Any study of 'camp refugees' on the basis of UNRWA data obviously exclude the non-refugee residents in camps of the West Bank.

One such study, that of Hill (1982, pp 50-51) gives, as 'the only fertility data available', a CBR of 42 per 1000 for the refugee camps of the West Bank in 1970.

7.2 Fertility Levels:

7.2.1 Crude Birth Rate: (CBR)

From the available data on fertility of the Palestinians by the places of residence (Table 7.1), we note that the Palestinians have one of the highest rates of fertility in the world. In addition to the influence of the religious, cultural and socio-economic background of the Palestinians in maintaining high fertility rates, the political developments in Palestine, since the Balfour declaration in 1917, have led to a demographic conflict between the Palestinians and the Jewish immigrants. This led Israeli researchers, for example Friedlander *et al* 1979, P. 254, to conclude that "development policies [among the Palestinians in Israel, West Bank and Gaza Strip] should be planned to contain as many changes as possible which generate conflict with high fertility at the family level".

However, signs of a recent fertility decline can be observed among Palestinians in Kuwait, Israel and Jordan, whereas Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip continue to maintain high levels with little indication of change. Table 7.1 shows that the CBR of non-Kuwaiti migrants in Kuwait, more than one-third of whom are Palestinians or Jordanians of Palestinian origin, fell by 31% between 1970 and 1980 and by a further 34% between 1980 and 1986, an overall decline of 54.4% in 16 years. For East Jordan, where more than half the population is of Palestinian origin, the CBR declined by 25.5-28.6% between 1961 and 1983. The CBR for Palestinians who remained in the part of Palestine under Israeli control before 1967 (particularly Moslems who constituted 77.4% of Palestinians in this area) has remained high at 42.1 per 1000 until 1979. Thereafter, it declined slightly at first, by 9.3% in 1980, and then more rapidly, when it declined in 1987 by 20% below the 1979 level. In both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the CBR has remained well above 40 per 1000 up to the present. In the West Bank there appears to have been a

fall of some significance between 1961 and 1975 but a fall of only 9.7% between 1975 and 1987. In the Gaza Strip, only 3.6% decline occurred between 1975 and 1987.

Among the Palestinians residing in camps since the 1948 exodus, high crude birth rates have been maintained; 44 per 1000 for Syrian camps in 1985 (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986), and 47 per 1000 for the West Bank camps (the 1987 survey) for example. However, it seems likely that the varying socio-economic circumstances of Palestinians in different areas have influenced their fertility.

Table 7.1

Crude Birth Rates (per 1000), 1955-1987

various areas

Area	1955	1961	1965	1970	1975	1980	1983	1986	1987
Arabs in Israel	42.0		49.6	44.6	41.9	35.9		31.5	31.9
Moslems in Israel	44.3		54.2	49.1	45.3	38.2		33.3	33.8
non-Kuwaitis in Kuwait				45.0		31.0		20.5	
East Jordan		47-49					35.0		
West Bank		51-53		43.5	45.4	42.1	42.3	40.0	41.0
Gaza Strip					49.5	47.6	45.9	47.0	47.7

Sources: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985, 1988.
Abu-Jaber, 1980.
Hill, 1983.
Jordan Department of Statistics, 1983.
Kuwait Central Statistics Office, 1986.

Within the West Bank itself, however, there would seem to be no significant differences in fertility between the camps of the three Districts, the differentials recorded; 47 in Nablus camps, 47 in camps of Jerusalem, and 48 in the Hebron camps, being well within the margin of errors likely to have occurred in the survey.

Fertility differences between the refugee camps of the three Districts can hardly be considered as an indicator of fertility trends, since such indications are possible only from long term studies (see Chapter 2). It has been noted that there have been no important social changes in the refugee camps of the West Bank. There are also no family planning centres, and as a result no organized pressure to reduce

fertility. These two factors seem to be the most influential in maintaining high fertility rates in the refugee camps of the West Bank. The maintenance of high fertility is also partly a result of reductions in the level of net migration from the West Bank as a whole which, in 1984-1986, was 57% below the level of the mid-1970's (Benvinisti, 1987). In addition, the infant mortality rate -recorded as 94.65 per 1000 live births in the 1987 sample survey- is another factor encouraging the maintenance of high fertility in the refugee camps. Furthermore, the UNRWA assistance to refugee children, in the form of education, basic rations, and medical care in the refugee camps, is considered of great importance in lowering the costs of children, and thus maintaining the number of births, particularly in a situation where family planning programmes are poorly developed.

7.2.2 General Fertility Rate: (GFR)

The GFR of the refugee camps in the West Bank as a whole is 209 births per 1000 women of childbearing age. This may be compared with GFR's of about 192 for the West Bank population as a whole (Benvinisti, 1986), and about 196 for the Palestinian women residing in the refugee camps of Syria (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986), 173 for the Moslems in Israel in 1980-84, and 172 for Jordan in 1983. These figures reflect again the high fertility rates of the Palestinian people.

The General Fertility Rate indicates more clearly than does the CBR the differences in fertility levels between the refugee camps of the three Districts but here again the differences are quite small; 202 in Nablus camps, 219 in those of Jerusalem, and 221 in the camps of Hebron. This is due to differences in the the proportion of married women among them in each District.

7.2.3 Child-Woman Ratio: (CWR)

The Child-Woman Ratio, which reflects fertility performance during the five years preceding the 1987 sample survey, may be considered a useful measure of fertility of the refugee camps population in the West Bank, where the UNRWA system for registering births is incomplete. The results of the 1987 survey indicate a CWR of

733 in the refugee camps of the West Bank, lower than that of the refugee camps of the Gaza Strip, which was about 891 in 1985 (Dahlan, 1987), and also lower than that of the West Bank as a whole, which was about 819 in 1984 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985). These differences in CWR may be partly related to variations in infant and child mortality in these areas. The estimated IMR of 53-56 for Gaza and 53-63 for the West Bank (Vernmund, 1985) are considerably lower than the IMR of 95 in the refugee camps of the West Bank as recorded in the 1987 sample survey.

The results of the 1987 survey indicate that the CWR in Nablus camps is 4.7% below the overall mean (699), while it was higher by 5% and 13% in the Jerusalem(772) and Hebron Districts (832), respectively. These differences in the CWR in refugee camps of the three Districts may be partly related to the relatively larger percentages of women aged between 20 to 34 among the 20 to 44 years old group designated as of childbearing age in the Hebron and Jerusalem Districts compared with the Nablus District. These percentages reached 73%, 73% and 71% in the Hebron, Jerusalem and Nablus Districts, respectively. Another factor may be variations in infant and child mortality in refugee camps of the three Districts (see Chapter 8).

7.2.4 Age Specific Fertility Rate: (ASFR)

Firstly, it is important to note that, in the refugee camps of the West Bank -a part of Moslem society-, all fertility or the actual childbearing performance of women is absolutely legitimate and represents marital fertility. The incidence of fertility outside marriage is zero.

Age-specific fertility rates based on the sample survey are given in Table 7.2 and graphed in Figure 7.1. These data show the connection between female fertility and age, or the current child-bearing performance of women aged 15-49 years in 5-year age groups. They are calculated directly from the number of births per ever-married woman in the 12 months preceding the 1987 sample survey.

The general pattern in the refugee camps of the West Bank is characterized by a high and broad peak in the curve, which reaches its highest point in the 30-34

age group. Some 54% of all births occur to women aged 20-34, 42% to women aged 35 and over and less than 4% to women below the age of 20.

Table 7.2

ASFR in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

By District

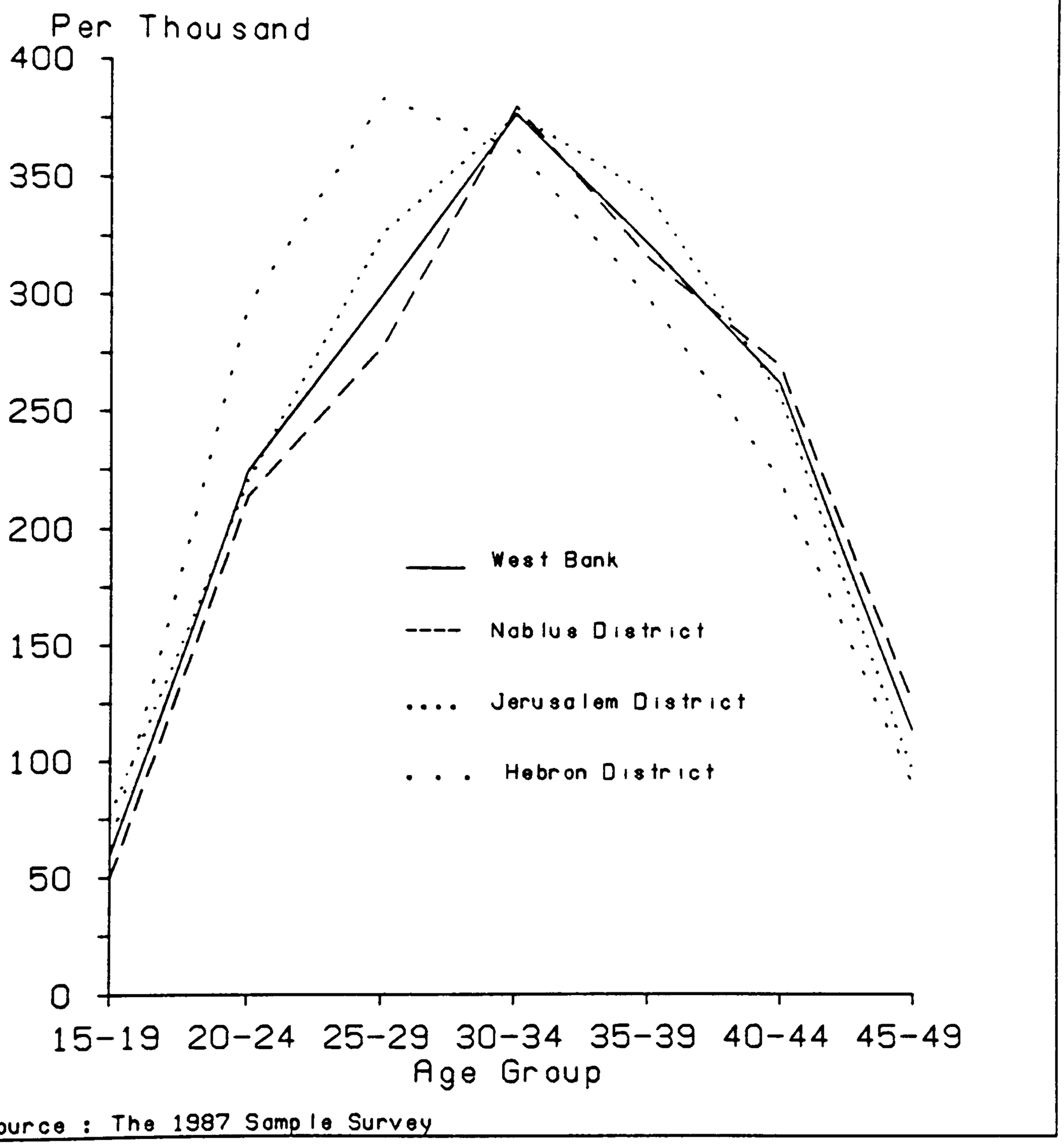
Age		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Nablus	ASFR	50.00	213.84	278.26	381.81	317.46	271.42	126.98
	%	3.05	13.04	16.97	23.28	19.36	16.55	7.74
Jerusalem		76.92	220.59	327.27	378.38	344.83	258.06	96.77
		4.52	12.95	19.22	22.22	20.25	15.15	5.68
Hebron		62.50	296.29	384.62	363.64	300.00	222.22	90.91
		3.63	17.22	22.36	21.14	17.44	12.92	5.28
West Bank		59.41	224.41	300.55	378.64	323.53	263.64	114.28
		3.57	13.48	18.06	22.75	19.44	15.84	6.87

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

The relatively low ASFR for women in the 15-19 age group reflects a rise in the average age of females at their first marriage (see Chapter 11). The mean age recorded in the survey being 19.46 years. Only 10.9% of all women below 20 were married. Beyond age 35, the ASFR declines as a result of declining fecundity; nevertheless, women aged 35-44 are more fertile than those aged 20-24 and the 45-49 year olds have a higher ASFR than those aged 15-19. These figures show that, in the West Bank refugee camps, childbearing is distributed over a long life span. They also suggest a minimal use of birth control which may be related both to the socio-economic background of refugees residing in the camps -which is clearly still unchanged- and to the absence of family planning provision in the camps.

There are significant differences between the ASFRs of Palestinian women in the West Bank camps and those in refugee camps in Syria (Table 7.3). In the latter case, a slightly higher proportion (4.4%) of all births occur to women aged 15-19, of whom 11.9%, as against 10.9% in the West Bank, have been married, and age groups

Figure 7.1 Age Specific Fertility Rate in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

20-34 are responsible for 62.6% of all births, compared with 54.3% in the West Bank. In addition, the highest ASFR in the Syrian camps occurs at ages 25-29 as against 30-34 in the West Bank. Women aged 35 and above contribute 42% of all births in the West Bank camps but only 33% of those in the Syrian camps. While a long life-span of childbearing may be identified as a characteristic of Palestinian women in the refugee camps of both areas, this feature is particularly pronounced in the case of the West Bank, reflecting the persistence there of a more traditional type of society.

Table 7.3

ASFR for Palestinian Women-Syrian Camps, 1985

Age	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
ASFR	63.3	244.1	335.5	318.2	288.1	146.4	40.1
%	4.4	17.0	23.4	22.2	20.1	10.2	2.8

Source: PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986.

Contrasts in ASFRs between the three Districts of the West Bank (Table 7.2 and Figure 7.1) are relatively slight. The ranking of the rates and their relative magnitudes over the ages of the reproductive period are very similar for the refugee camps of all three Districts. In each case, fertility is higher among women above the age of 35 than among those below 20, providing an example of Shryock's (1973) generalization that older women make their greater relative contribution where overall fertility is high.

In the oldest reproductive age group, 45-49, fertility is particularly high in the Nablus camps, which record an ASFR of 126.98, compared with 96.77 in Jerusalem and 90.91 in Hebron. This is likely to be due to the fact that women in the Nablus camps appear to achieve the desired number of children only towards the end of their reproductive life span. In the Jerusalem and Hebron camps, the desired number of children is achieved at a younger age; some women may become sterile as a result of early pregnancy. For the West Bank camps as a whole, and for those in Jerusalem and Nablus Districts, maximum fertility occurs at ages 30-34. In Hebron District, however, the highest ASFR is for age group 25-29, a product of the somewhat lower

mean age at first marriage in that District. Women in their 20s are responsible for some 40% of all births in the Hebron camps as against about 30% in the Nablus camps and 32% in those of the Jerusalem District.

7.2.5 Total Fertility Rate: (TFR)

The Total Fertility Rate is a valuable summary of the ASFRs discussed above and is more useful in the analysis of fertility trends. In the 1987 survey, the TFR in the West Bank camps was 8.3; 8.2 in Nablus camps, 8.5 in those of Jerusalem, and 8.6 in the camps of the Hebron District. These figures differ both from the TFR recorded by the West Bank population as a whole and from that of the refugee camps in Jordan. According to the 1961 census, the TFR for the West Bank as a whole was 7.48, while it was estimated at 7.32 for the East Bank of Jordan (Abu Jaber, 1980) where it fell thereafter to 6.6 by 1983 (Jordan, 1983). According to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (1982) the TFR was 7.64 in 1968 and fell slightly to 6.92 in 1980. On the other hand, Sabatello (1983) estimated that the TFR was 7.2 to 7.5 until 1977, and it was around 7 in 1986 according to Benvinisti (1987). Values for the West Bank population as a whole are likely to be depressed by the inclusion of the population of urban centres, which may be assumed to have somewhat lower fertility rates.

Among the Arab Moslems in Israel, the TFR's were significantly higher than those of the other groups of Palestinians throughout the period 1955-74, rising from 8.17 in 1955-59 to 9.23 in 1960-64; thereafter it declined to 8.47 in 1970-74, 7.25 in 1975-79, 5.54 in 1980-84 and 4.63 in 1986 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1988). The decline in TFR was also remarkable among the non-Kuwaiti population of Kuwait, from 6.7 in 1970 to 5.3 in 1975 (Hill, 1983).

The TFR of the refugee camps in the West Bank was higher than that of the Palestinian women residing in refugee camps of Syria, where it reached about 7.2 in 1985 (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986). However, it is lower than the TFR of the Palestinian women residing in the refugee camps of Jordan, where it is estimated to be about 9.7 (Hill, 1982). These contrasts reflect the different circumstances of

the Palestinians in these areas, and also reflect some recent indications of decline in Palestinian fertility; this was rapid among both non-Kuwaitis and the Arab Moslems in Israel, followed by Jordan. Figures for the West Bank indicate that fertility has been high and has shown very little change over the period 1961-86.

7.2.6 Indirect Estimates of Fertility:

7.2.6.1 The P/F Ratio:

The technique used here for estimating fertility is based on the 1987 sample survey questions about the total number of children ever-born, births recorded in the survey being classified by five-year age group of mother. The P/F method (Brass method) for estimating fertility is used; the results are given in Table 7.4. The TFR estimated by this methd is 5.1, lower than that estimated at 6.0 for Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon in 1979-80 (Hill, 1983), and lower than the TFR estimated by the direct method used above.

Taking the main assumption of the P/F ratio into consideration, which assumed that fertility of younger women has not changed, it could be that the changing pattern of marriage among younger women caused a decline in their fertility, which in turn affect the TFR estimated by the P/F ratio. The slope in the P/F values in Table 7.4 is clear evidence of an incipient change in fertility in the camps. Therefore, the validity of the P/F ratio could be affected by a rise in age at first marriage, the emigration of young couples outside the West Bank or to the nearest cities of the West Bank, and also by a possible use of contraceptive methods among younger women.

7.2.6.2 The P/G method:

By using the P/G method (Coale, Hill and Trussell method), based on the 1987 sample survey results classified by duration of marriage of the currently married women (Table 7.5 and 7.6), we found that the estimated TFR is 4.9; lower than the estimated TFR of 5.1 based on the P/F ratio shown above. This is likely to be due to the recent change in age at marriage among the West Bank refugee camps population and confirms the earlier conclusion that fertility in the camps is starting to decline.

Table 7.4
Estimation of Fertility in the West Bank Refugee Camps, 1987
(Brass Method)

Age group	Index	Reported fertility rate f_i	Cumulative fertility ϕ_i	Average parity per woman P_i	Estimated parity equivalents F_i	P/F Ratio	Weighting factor w_i	Fertility rate of conventional age group $f+_{(i)}$	Adjusted fertility rate $f^*(i)$
15-19	1	0.0594	0.297	0.0825	0.1281	0.6448	0.0504	0.0707	0.0431
20-24	2	0.2244	1.419	0.5551	0.9496	0.5846	0.0865	0.2391	0.1459
25-29	3	0.3006	2.922	1.4699	2.2837	0.6436	0.0936	0.3100	0.1891
30-34	4	0.3786	4.815	2.8350	4.0671	0.6971	0.1123	0.3795	0.2315
35-39	5	0.3235	6.433	6.1667	5.7569	1.0712	0.1158	0.3177	0.1938
40-44	6	0.2636	7.751	7.6909	7.1666	1.0732	0.0842	0.2427	0.1481
45-49	7	0.1143	8.322	8.3904	8.1911	1.0243		0.1047	0.0639

$K^*= 0.61$ TF= 5.08

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 7.5
Reported and Expected Average Parities, by Duration of Marriage, West Bank Refugee Camps, 1987.

Duration group	Index	Reported average parity P_i	Expected average parity $P^*(i)$	Ratio of reported to expected parity $R_{(i)}$
0-4	1	0.8944	1.0782	0.8295
5-9	2	2.2095	3.0892	0.7152
10-14	3	3.4222	4.7799	0.7160

SMAM= 25.2 K=0.75

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

Table 7.6
Adjusted Marital Fertility and Estimated Age-Specific Fertility Rates, West Bank Refugee Camps, 1987.

Age group	Index	Adjusted marital fertility $g_{(i)}$	Proportion of currently married women	Estimated age specific fertility $f_{(i)}$
15-19	1	0.3084	0.109	0.0336
20-24	2	0.3521	0.445	0.1567
25-29	3	0.3314	0.678	0.2247
30-34	4	0.2991	0.757	0.2264
35-39	5	0.2420	0.833	0.2016
40-44	6	0.1251	0.909	0.1137
45-49	7	0.0189	0.829	0.0157

TF= 4.9

Source: The 1987 sample survey.

7.3 Factors Affecting Fertility:

The high fertility recorded by the population of the refugee camps may be explained by several factors pertaining to the socio-economic background, religious and cultural pattern of the refugee camps' population, rather than pertaining to the present socio-economic composition. It has been noted that there have been no important social changes in these camps.

7.3.1 Women's Age at First Marriage

This represents one of the main factors affecting fertility levels and trends in the refugee camps of the West Bank. It is known that women who marry younger are exposed earlier to the risk of childbearing within the reproductive period, and have a longer reproductive period, and are thus are likely to have more children.

The 1987 sample survey records that 6.8% of the ever-married women in the refugee camps of the West Bank were married below the age of 15. The percentage in Jerusalem District was 8.2%, while it was 6.5% and 4.3% in Nablus and Hebron Districts, respectively. It also records that mean age at first marriage for women in the refugee camps as a whole is 19.46 years, ranging from 19.52 in Nablus to 19.36 and 19.35 in Jerusalem and Hebron Districts respectively. Approximately 92% of ever-married women in the Nablus camps were married below the age of 25, as against 92.5% in Jerusalem and 98.8% in Hebron. These figures indicate that women in the refugee camps of Hebron marry younger than women in the Nablus or Jerusalem camps, and thus have longer period of reproductivity, and a liklihood of bearing more children.

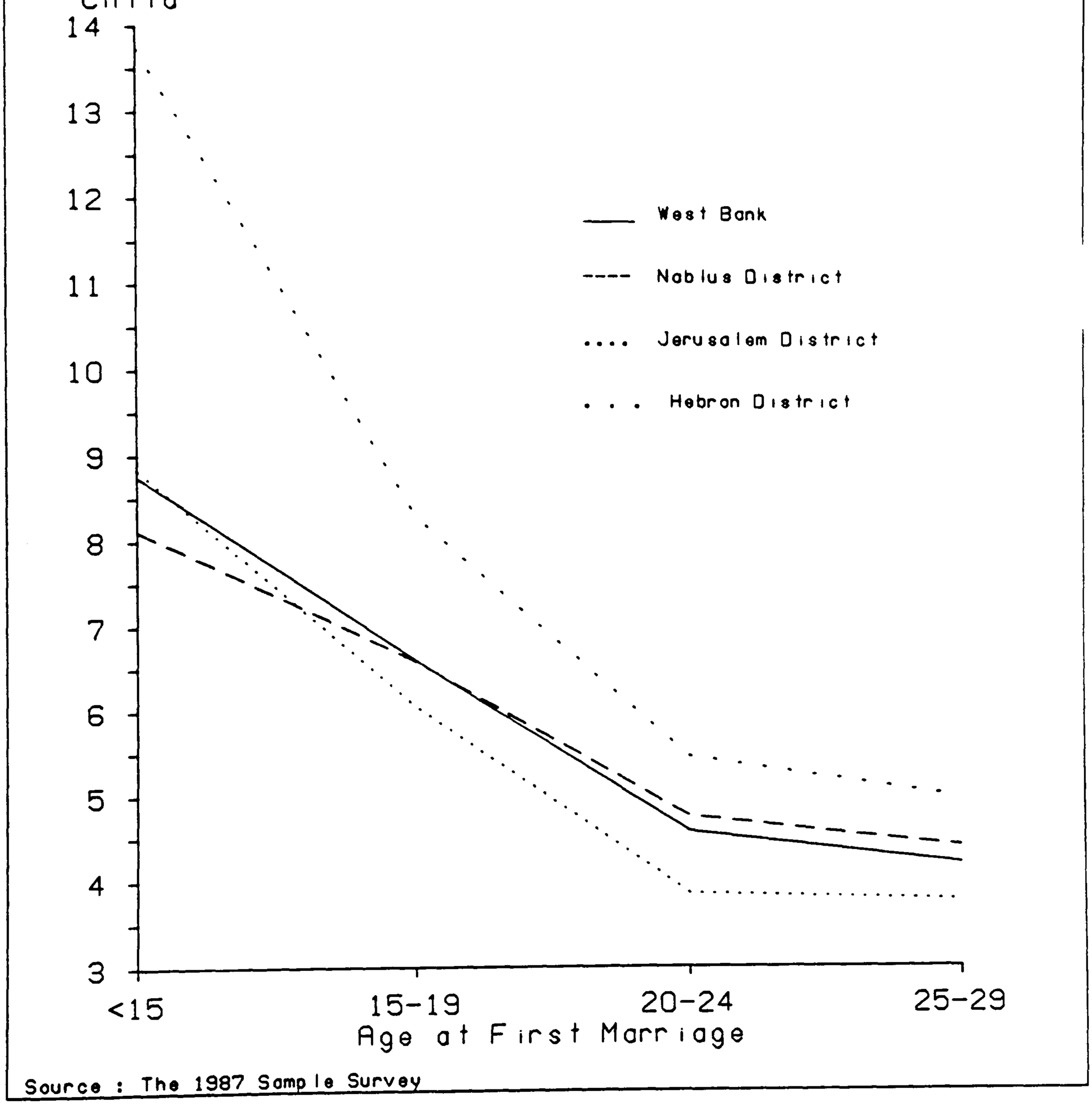
Table 7.7 and Figure 7.2 show that the fertility levels of women married at ages under 15 years are higher than those married at later ages. The average parity of live births for women married at under 15, and 15-19 years old were 8.75 and 6.61, respectively. The number of live births to each woman declined steadily with the increase in the woman's age at first marriage, and reached 3.55 for women married at age 30 or over. This trend of increasing number of children with decreasing age at first marriage reflects the social norms regulating fertility in the West Bank refugee camps.

Table 7.7
Average Parity Per Ever Married Woman,by Age At First Marriage in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Age At First Marriage	Age of Mother						Total			District								
	15-34		35-54		55+					Nablus			Jerusalem			Hebron		
	E.M.W	A.P	E.M.W	A.P	E.M.W	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P
Under 15	11	1.91	24	11.17	26	9.42	61	534	8.75	34	276	8.12	23	203	8.83	4	55	13.75
15-19	181	2.52	226	8.71	91	9.51	498	3291	6.61	292	1927	6.60	155	940	6.07	51	424	8.31
20-24	135	1.61	106	7.40	31	7.87	272	1246	4.58	153	729	4.76	83	320	3.86	36	197	5.47
25-29	22	1.27	20	5.20	11	8.27	53	223	4.21	34	150	4.41	18	68	3.78	1	5	5.00
30 +	1	3.00	8	3.50	2	4.00	11	39	3.55	8	31	3.88	3	8	2.67			
Total	350	2.08	384	8.21	161	9.02	895	5333	5.96	521	3113	5.98	282	1539	5.46	92	681	7.40

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.
E.M.W: Ever Married Woman C.E.B: Children Ever Born A.P:Average Parity.

Figure 7.2 Average Parity per Ever-Married Woman in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987, by Age at First Marriage



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

These norms have a greater influence in Hebron than in the other two Districts. The average parity for women married at under 15 years is higher (13.75) in the Hebron camps than in the Jerusalem (8.83) or Nablus (8.12) camps.

As Table 7.7 shows, all married women in the Hebron camps and the great majority of those in the Nablus and Jerusalem camps had married before the age of 30. Indeed, of the entire sample, only 11 women (1.2%) married at 30 or over. The average parity for women married at all ages is higher in the Hebron camps than in those of the Jerusalem or Nablus Districts. Attitudes favouring large families would seem to be stronger in Hebron than in the other two Districts, reflecting the social environment of Hebron, which is known as the most traditional area of the West Bank. High fertility in Hebron may also be related to the fact that the Hebron camps have the highest proportion of the poorer refugees.

7.3.2 Marriage Duration

Table 7.8 and Figure 7.3 show the relationship between the number of children born and duration of marriage. Not surprisingly, there is a steady increase in average parity from 0.88 for women married less than five years to 9.6 for those married 40 years or more. The increase in parity is most rapid through the first 20-24 years of marriage. Thereafter it rises much more slowly with the decline in a woman's biological capacity to produce children due to increasing age.

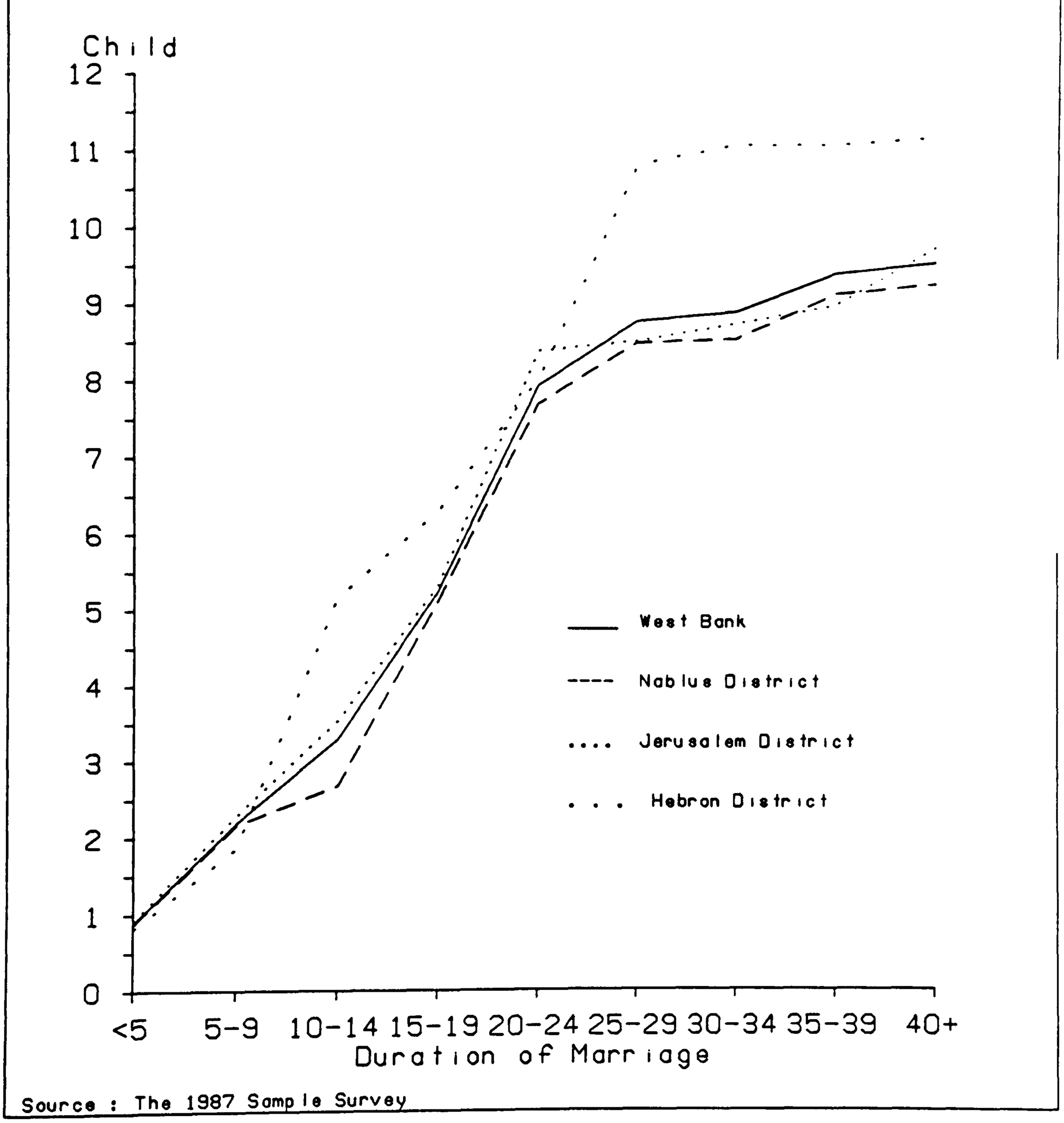
These data, too, reflect the higher fertility of women in the Hebron camps compared with those in Jerusalem and Nablus Districts. A woman in the Hebron camps married for 40 or more years has, on average, 11.3 children, as against 9.8 and 9.6 for women in the Jerusalem and Nablus camps respectively. Hebron women not only have a large number of children, but also produce them more rapidly. In the Hebron camps, a woman produces on average 5.2 children during the first 10-14 years of marriage; the equivalent figures for Jerusalem and Nablus are 3.6 and 2.7 respectively. Putting this another way, women in the Jerusalem and Nablus camps require 15-19 years of marriage to produce the 5 children born in the Hebron camps during 10-14 years. Whereas women in Jerusalem and Hebron camps need 20-24

Table 7.8
Average Parity Per Ever Married Woman,by Marriage Duration of Mother in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Duration of group marriage (years)	Total			District								
				Nablus			Jerusalem			Hebron		
	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P
Less than 5	145	128	0.88	77	67	0.87	52	48	0.92	16	13	0.81
5-9	106	232	2.19	61	132	2.16	38	87	2.29	7	13	1.86
10-14	93	308	3.31	45	121	2.69	38	135	3.55	10	52	5.20
15-19	74	390	5.27	42	216	5.14	29	155	5.34	3	19	6.33
20-24	103	823	7.99	61	473	7.75	29	245	8.45	13	105	8.08
25-29	103	911	8.84	62	531	8.56	29	249	8.59	12	131	10.92
30-34	94	844	8.98	55	474	8.62	28	247	8.82	11	123	11.18
35-39	65	617	9.49	41	378	9.22	14	127	9.07	10	112	11.20
40 +	112	1080	9.64	77	721	9.36	25	246	9.84	10	113	11.30
Total	895	5333	5.96	521	3113	5.98	282	1539	5.46	92	681	7.40

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.
E.M.W: Ever Married Woman C.E.B: Children Ever Born A.P:Average Parity.

Figure 7.3 Average Parity per Ever-Married Woman in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987, by Duration of Marriage



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

years of marriage to produce more than 8 children, women in Nablus camps need 25-29 years of marriage to produce the same number.

Women in the Hebron camps are also more fertile than those in the other two Districts beyond the first 20-24 years of marriage, producing a further 3.2 children as against 1.6 and 1.39 in the Nablus and Jerusalem camps respectively.

7.3.3 Mother's Current Age

Table 7.9 and Figure 7.4 show the relationship between the ages of women in the West Bank refugee camps and the numbers of children ever born to them. The average parity of the 15-19 year age group was 0.76, and this increased gradually to 9.1 for women past the end of their reproductive period (50 years old and over). While these data show the normal trend of an increase in the number of children ever born through the reproductive ages in all three Districts of the West Bank, there are contrasts between the three Districts in the level of completed fertility. The average parity for women aged 50 and over is 10.5 children in the Hebron camps, as against 8.88 and 8.86 in the Nablus and Jerusalem camps respectively. Contrasts in average parity between women in the Hebron camps and those in the other two Districts are particularly marked at ages 30-34. For this age group, the figure is 6.9 in Hebron but only 3.5 and 3.2 in Jerusalem and Nablus respectively. These contrasts are the result of two main factors: women in the Hebron camps marry at earlier age than those in the other two Districts (see Chapter 11) and also prefer to produce their children during the early years of marriage.

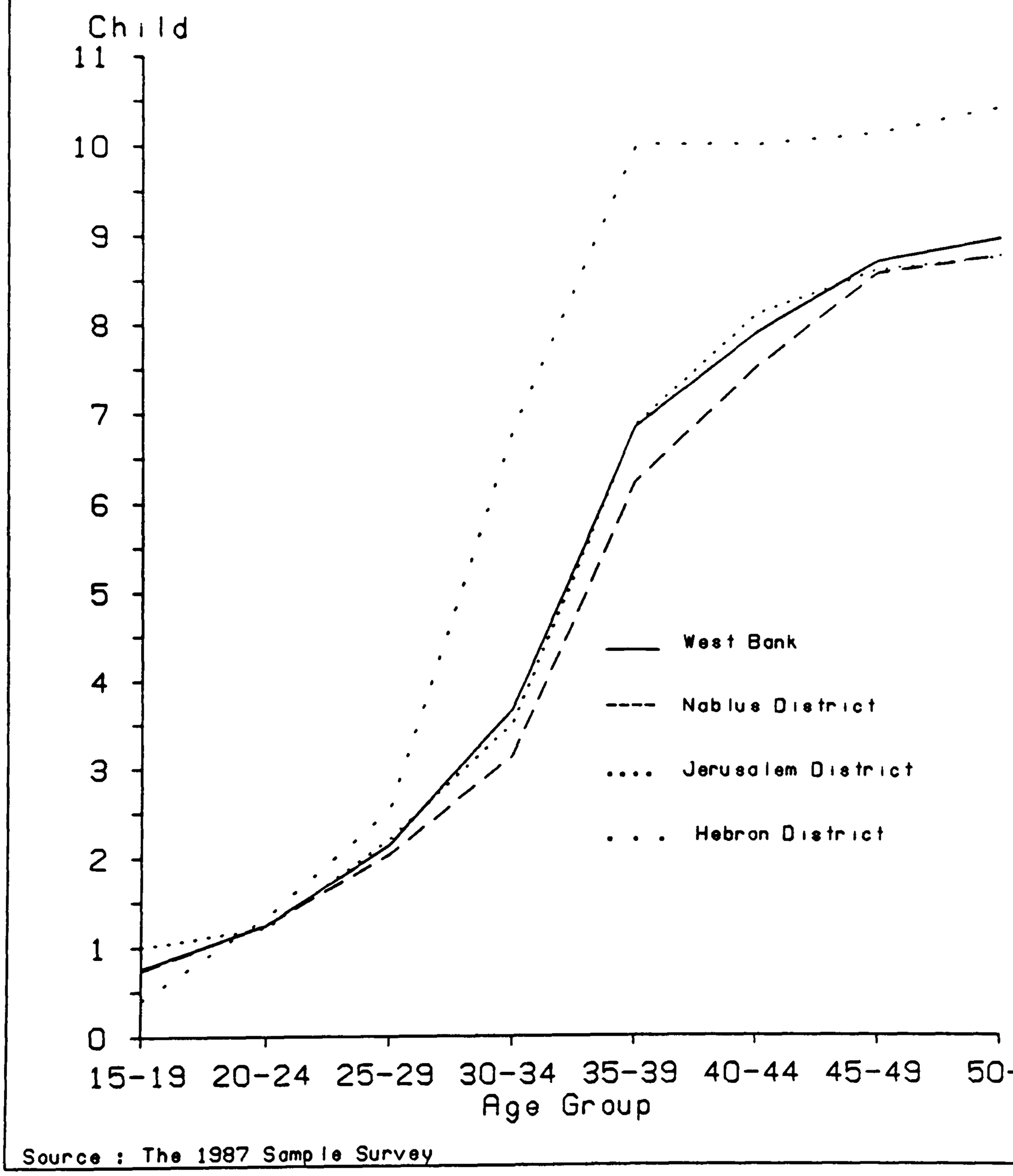
A sample survey carried out in 1979 by Ayyash and Hill on three UNRWA camps in Jordan shows a higher average parity per woman than that of the eight UNRWA camps covered by the 1987 sample survey. As Table 7.10 shows, the parity of all age groups the Jordan camps in 1979 was well above that recorded in the West Bank camps in 1987. Average parities in the Jordan camps were higher than those in the West Bank camps by some 34% in the case of women aged 15-19, 92% for those aged 20-24 and 109% for the 25-29 age group. Thereafter, the discrepancy narrows and is only 12.4% in the case of women aged 45-49. Although the two sets of

Table 7.9
Average Parity Per Ever Married Woman,by Age of Mother in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Age Group	Total			District								
				Nablus			Jerusalem			Hebron		
	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P
15-19	33	25	0.76	19	14	0.74	9	9	1.00	5	2	0.40
20-24	113	141	1.25	59	74	1.25	42	51	1.21	12	16	1.33
25-29	125	269	2.15	68	139	2.04	46	102	2.22	11	28	2.55
30-34	79	292	3.70	37	117	3.16	34	120	3.53	8	55	6.88
35-39	91	637	6.91	52	327	6.29	29	201	6.93	10	109	10.10
40-44	106	846	7.98	66	501	7.59	31	254	8.19	9	91	10.11
45-49	100	881	8.81	61	529	8.67	31	270	8.71	8	82	10.25
50 +	248	2242	9.07	159	1412	8.88	60	532	8.87	29	298	10.55
Total	895	5333	5.96	521	3113	5.98	282	1539	5.46	92	681	7.40

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.
E.M.W: Ever Married Woman C.E.B: Children Ever Born A.P:Average Parity.

Figure 7.4 Average Parity per Ever-Married Woman in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987, by Age



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

figures are not strictly comparable owing to the gap of eight years between the two surveys, during which there may have been some change in attitudes towards family size, there are factors which may have favoured higher fertility in Jordan, notably the replacement of casualties sustained in the 1970 civil war.

Table 7.10

Average Parity in the Refugee Camps of Jordan, 1979. by Age

Age	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
A.P	1.020	2.403	4.503	6.640	8.626	9.344	9.899

Source: Ayyash & Hill, 1979.

7.3.4 Educational Levels

Education seems to be of considerable importance as a socio-economic factor influencing fertility levels and trends in the refugee camps of the West Bank. As Table 7.11 shows, 47.3% of ever-married women in the sample had received no education and a further 19.1% had elementary education only, these two groups representing two-thirds of the total. 17.5% had reached only the preparatory stage, so that a total of 84% had not attained secondary education. Those who had reached the institute or university level amounted to only 5.2%.

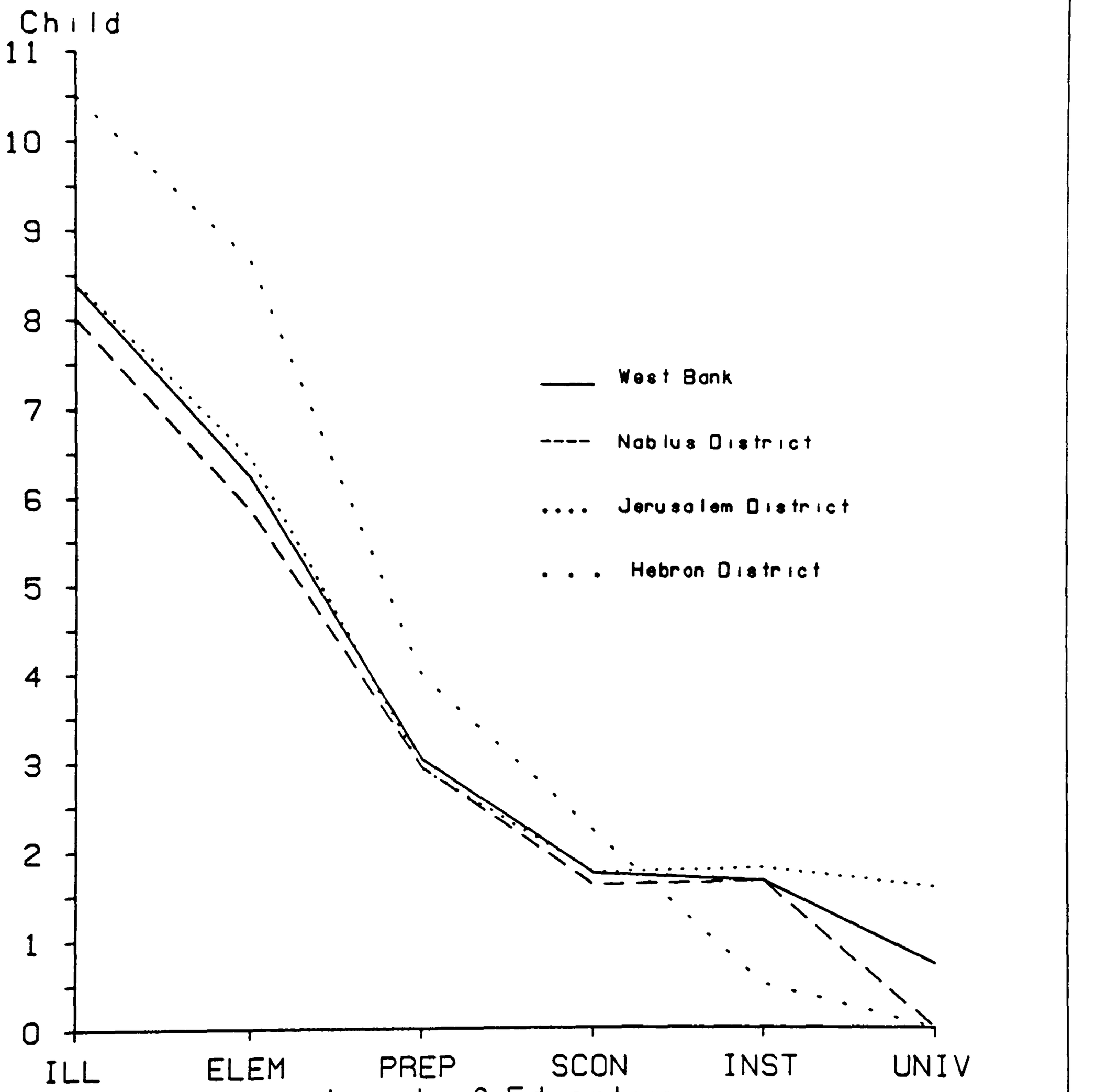
The relationship between fertility and educational attainment is illustrated by Table 7.11 and Figure 7.5, from which it is clear that the average number of children born per ever-married woman decreases progressively with increasing educational attainment. Illiterate and elementary-educated wives had an average of 8.4 and 6.2 children respectively, while university graduates had only 0.7. This is due to the fact that illiteracy, in refugee camps of the West Bank, occurs mainly among older women (see Chapter 13), and also to the later marriage of educated as compared with non-educated women. This reduces the reproductive period of educated women; in addition, their preference for educated husbands may lead to delayed marriage, and thus lower the number of children they would have. On the other hand, it may be related to the preference of educated women for small families and better living

Table 7.11
Average Parity Per Ever Married Woman by Level of Education of Mother in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Level of Education	Age of Mother						Total			In Districts		
	15-34		35-54		55+							
	E.M.W	A.P	E.M.W	A.P	E.M.W	A.P	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	Nablus	Jerusalem	Hebron
Illiteracy	30	3.23	248	8.66	145	8.98	423	3547	8.39	8.01	8.42	10.50
Elementary	68	2.85	87	8.31	16	9.44	171	1068	6.25	5.87	6.46	8.67
Preparatory	121	2.12	36	6.22	0	0	157	480	3.06	2.96	2.94	4.00
Secondary	89	1.46	8	5.00	0	0	97	170	1.75	1.62	1.76	2.23
Institute	31	1.35	5	3.60	0	0	36	60	1.67	1.67	1.81	0.50
University	11	0.73	0	0	0	0	11	8	0.73	0.00	1.60	0.00
Total	350	2.08	384	8.21	161	9.02	895	5333	5.96	5.98	5.46	7.40

Source:The 1987 Sample Survey.
E.M.W: Ever Married Woman C.E.B: Children Ever Born A.P:Average Parity.

Figure 7.5 Average Parity per Ever-Married Woman in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987, by Level of Education



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

conditions with a small number of children.

The data also show that average parities for married woman are higher in the Hebron camps at all educational levels than in the other two Districts. It would also appear to be the case that the influence of level of education on fertility is greater in the Nablus camps than in those of the other two Districts.

7.3.5 Economic Status and Occupation

The figures in Table 7.12 indicate that only 6.5% of ever married women in the refugee camps of the West Bank were economically active, while the residue (93.5%) were mainly working as housewives, with a small number incapable of work. Table 7.12 indicates a significant relationship between economic status of ever married women and the average number of children ever born in the refugee camps as a whole. These figures show that the average parity for the economically active wives (4.2) is lower than that of the housewives (6.2) and women incapable of work (8.1). This is likely to be due to the fact that women incapable of work are themselves the older women who have finished their reproductive period, and thus are likely to have had more children.

Housewives, as they are not involved in work outside the house, have more time for child care; furthermore, the majority of them are of low levels of education or illiterate. This, of course, is in addition to their desire to produce children as a means of maintaining their position in the family, or to prevent the occurancy of polygamy. Not to have a large number of children is considered, by many West Bank males, a justification for them to marry two or more wives. Economically active wives, on the other hand, are often more educated, younger, and have less time to devote to child care.

Table 7.13 shows significant differences in the fertility levels of working women according to their occupations. The average parity for women employed in professional, administrative and clerical works is only 2.1 children, while women employed in services have 5 children, those in industry 5.4 and those in agriculture 5.8, with a maximum of 6 children in the case of those employed in commerce.

Table 7.12
Average Parity Per Ever Married Woman by Economic Status of Mother in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Economic Status	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P
Active	58	242	4.17
Student	1		
Housewife	824	4994	6.06
Incapable to Work	12	97	8.08
Total	895	5333	5.96

Source:The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 7.13
Average Parity Per Ever Married Woman by Occupation of Employed Mother in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Occupation	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P
Professional, administrative &clerical works	10	21	2.1
Commerce	10	60	6.0
Services	18	90	5.0
Agriculture	5	29	5.8
Industry	5	27	5.4
Other	2	5	2.5
Total	50	232	4.64

Source:The 1987 Sample Survey.
E.M.W: Ever Married Woman
C.E.B: Children Ever Born
A.P:Average Parity.

These differences are explained by the fact that a high proportion (70%) of the women employed in commerce are aged 40 years and over, and thus have had a longer period of reproductivity. In addition, a small number worked in camps as self employed or family workers. Those who were employed in agriculture and industry worked outside the camps, often in Israel, and thus have less time for child care; furthermore, the majority of them are illiterate or of low level of education. Some of the women employed in services work as doorwomen in schools or as cleaners, and almost all of them are of low level of education. However, the lower average parity for women employed in services, as compared with those employed in industry or in agriculture, is explained by the fact that this category also includes teachers and others of higher educational level. The lower average parity for women employed in professional, administrative and clerical occupations, reflects their higher educational level and their desire to advance their careers, which may to them seem more important than producing children; these women are likely have a better knowledge of family planning, and a desire to maintain a higher standard of living by restricting the size of their families.

7.3.6 Family Income:

In many parts of the world, the number of children declines with increasing income levels, but this does not appear to be the case in the refugee camps of the West Bank. Table 7.14 and Figure 7.6 show that there is no direct relationship between monthly family income and the number of children born in the refugee camps of the West Bank. For example, the parity of women in income group 4 (6.7) is higher than those of women in income groups 3, 2 and 1. The data show that the parity of women in income group 2 is 6% above that of women in group 1 and that of women in group 4 is 16.4% above that of women in group 3.

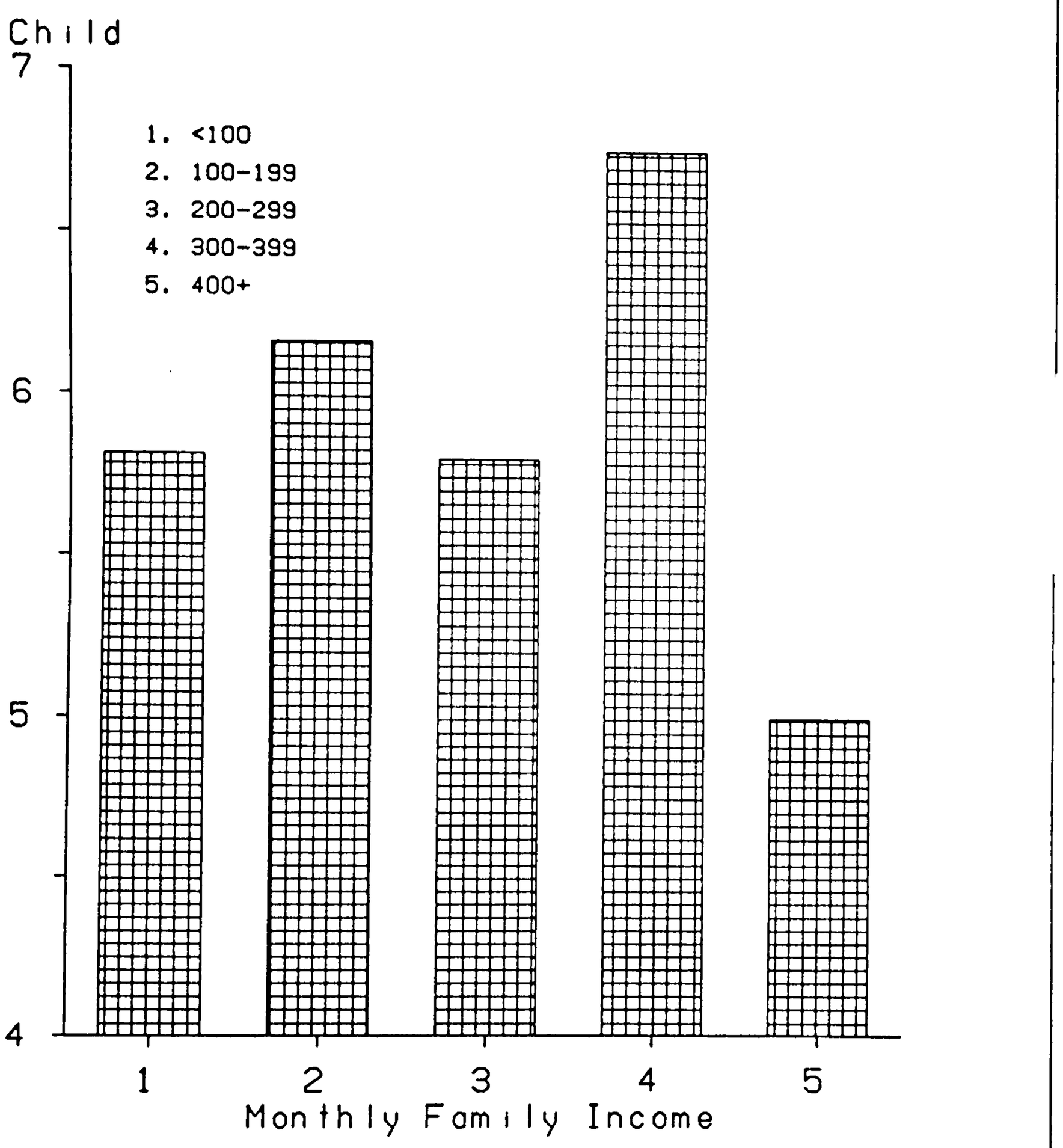
These figures show no significant relationship between income and the number of children born in the refugee camps as a whole; this is also the case in the refugee camps of all three Districts. The largest differences are to be seen in the income groups of Nablus camps, where the average parity of women in income group

Table 7.14
Average Parity Per Ever Married Woman by Family Income in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Family Income (J.D)	Total			In Districts		
	E.M.W	C.E.B	A.P	Nablus	Jerusalem	Hebron
1) Less than 100	474	2755	5.81	6.05	4.93	7.35
2) 100-199	333	2052	6.16	5.92	6.15	7.60
3) 200-299	64	371	5.80	5.29	6.52	6.60
4) 300-399	20	135	6.75	7.42	5.75	
5) 400 +	4	20	5.00	6.00	2.00	
Total	895	5333	5.96	5.98	5.46	7.40

Source:The 1987 Sample Survey.
E.M.W: Ever Married Woman C.E.B: Children Ever Born
A.P:Average Parity.

Figure 7.6 Average Parity per Ever Married Woman in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987, by Monthly Family Income. (Jordan Dinar)



Source: The 1987 Sample Survey

4 is about 22.6, 25.2 and 40.2% above those of income groups 1,2 and 3 respectively. The data also shows that, in the Jerusalem camps, the average parity of women in group 2 is about 24.7% above that of women in group 1, and that of women in group 3 is 6% and 32.5% above that of women in group 2 and 1 respectively, while in Hebron the average parity of women in group 2 is about 3.5% above that of women in group 1.

There are a number of reasons for this state of affairs, most of them related to the artificially unstable nature of the refugee camps, where refugees living far from their land and property lose the basis for a stable pattern of life which in turn may affect fertility levels. In addition to this, most of the refugee camp population is engaged in unskilled labour and may frequently be obliged to change its occupation and thus its income level. The fertility levels of the refugee camps seem to be largely dependent on the decision of individuals. The large average parity of some 'higher income' groups in the camps, may be explained by social norms or by the standing of the family in the community, which may lead to an increase in the number of children for these groups.

7.3.7 Other Factors:

The high fertility of the refugee camps population may be explained by its socio-economic, religious, and cultural background rather than by its present socio-economic status, due to the distinctive situation of the refugee camps. In discussing factors affecting the fertility of the refugee camps population, one may note that the old social relationships, traditions, and the situation of women in pre-1948 Palestine are still alive and active in the refugee camps of the West Bank, due to the artificial existance of the camps, and the political and psycological circumstances of the refugees, as well as to the fact that any socio-economic development in the West Bank after 1948 took place entirely outside the camps. As has been shown, all the people in the refugee camps were villagers. An agricultural occupation in pre-1948 Palestine favoured large families, where an additional child meant more of the cheap-unpaid labour essential for unskilled agricultural activities.

It is true, on the one hand, that the economic structure of the refugee population changed radically after the 1948 exodus, leading to a redistribution of occupations, but it is also true, on the other hand, that the refugee communities residing in the camps, did not achieve any economic development, and thus any great social development after the year 1948. Therefore, the preference for large families remains as an influence on their fertility levels. The redistribution of refugees within the economic sectors of the West Bank after 1948 apparently did not contribute to the weakening of extended family ties sufficiently to affect fertility. Given the poor economic conditions of the refugee camps population, a large number of sons contributed the only chance for a family to improve its situation by increasing the number of hands to work and provide an income.

One of the socio-economic factors influencing the fertility levels of the refugee camps population, is the social view of males as protectors of property, honour, and family standing in the community. Economically, these communities depend on males much more than females, males representing the actual productive portion.

As regards the social background of the refugee camps' population, one may note that a preference for large families was one of the main characteristics of the rural population of pre-1948 Palestine. The numbers of family members affects its position in the community; large families mean, from the socio-economic point of view, great influence in the community. And the fact that the refugee social structure has not changed significantly implied that, for women and for the family, high fertility was still a source of power.

Part of the explanation for the high fertility rate is also to be found in the situation of Palestinian females in the camp communities, which is similar to that of females in other Arab countries. The view that a woman should stay at home, and attend to her menfolk is still prevalent. Women are brought up for marriage, and their role is essentially that of reproduction. When they marry, the girls' parents usually play a major part in the choice of husband, and thus have a strong influence upon the girl's age at first marriage (Sirhan, 1975). The minimum age of marriage for females in the refugee camps, as in the West Bank as a whole, is sixteen years. It

has been noted that 6.8% of ever married women in the refugee camps were married under the age of 15. A woman's chance of education, too, is lower than those of males in the refugee camps, and this also influences the fertility rates of the refugee camps population.

The 1987 sample survey carried out by the author recorded that the entire population of the West Bank refugee camps is Moslem. In Moslem societies, there are religious objections to birth control, except when the pregnancy might affect the health of the mother and her existing children, and when the family income is too low to support a large family. Islamic society dose not favour divorce, which means that, along with social and family pressure on married couples to remain together, the stability of arranged marriages is strongly influenced, and thus the prevailing pattern of marriage is monogamy. In the refugee camps of the West Bank, as recorded in the 1987 sample survey, 97% of ever married women had been married only once, and less than 2.8% twice.

The Islamic prohibition of abortion, except when pregnancy might endanger the health of the mother or child or both, also contributes to high fertility in the refugee camps. In his study of women and abortion in the West Bank as a whole, Husseini (1981) found that only 8.8% of women have practiced induced abortion.

Finally, the high IMR in the refugee camps of the West Bank, as recorded in the 1987 sample survey (94.65 per 1000), seem to be of great importance in maintaining high fertility rates. This, together with refugee circumstances, means that children not only ensure continuity but also constitute the only form of security in old age.

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CHAPTER EIGHT
MORTALITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS

8.1 Introduction:

Mortality or the occurance of death, follows fertility as a second factor influencing population growth and the pattern of population structure in the refugee camps of the West Bank.

The available data on mortality among the populations of the Palestinian refugee camps, as mentioned earlier, present similar problem to those on fertility. The very limited studies on demographic aspects of the 'registered refugees' or the 'refugee camps' (for example Weller&Serow, 1986.) concentrate their attention on fertility and have much less to say on mortality. This is likely to be due to lack of appropriate data from UNRWA and other sources. However, in the 1987 sample survey, which included questions on mortality, all heads of the households covered by the survey were asked whether they had members who had died in the previous 12 months, and in all such cases the characteristics of the deceased were recorded.

8.2 Mortality Levels:

8.2.1 Crude Death Rate: (CDR)

The Crude Death Rate gives a preliminary indication of the level of mortality by indicating the number of deaths per 1000 of the total population in a given year. On the basis of the 1961 census data, Abu-Jaber *et al* (1980) estimated a CDR for Jordan as a whole (East and West Banks) at about 16 per 1000. By contrast, the PLO data (1981) on the mortality rates for Palestinians shows that the average CDR (1970-80) per 1000 in the West Bank is 15.9 and in the Gaza Strip 18.0, while in the East Bank it was only 3.4, but the United Nation ECWA (1979) estimates that about 60% of deaths in Jordan go unreported and estimates the CDR at 15 (Weller& Serow, 1986).

The Israeli figures for the West Bank show that the CDR declined from 21.6 in 1968 to 14.8 in 1975 and to 6.8 in 1986. For the Gaza Strip, it shows that this rate declined from 18.9 in 1968 to 16.0 in 1975 and to 6.8 in 1986. Over this period, medical care and housing conditions have improved due to increased employment in Israel and abroad. These changes have been associated with a rise in educational levels and a greater awareness of hygiene. Among the Moslems in Israel, the CDR is significantly lower than that estimated for West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jordan; it stood at 8.02 in 1955, declined to 5.5 in 1975 and to 3.4 in 1986, but it is still higher than the CDR of 1.7 for non-Kuwaitis in 1986. These figures indicate that both West Bank and Gaza Strip still have higher mortality rates than the other Palestinian groups, despite recent indication of decline. Variations in CDR's between Palestinians are likely to have occurred due to differences in socio-economic status, and to the medical care provided in their places of residence; apparently, the lower levels are to be found in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

However, the results of the 1987 survey reveal a higher level of mortality among Palestinians residing in camps of the West Bank than that suggested by the Israelis for the West Bank as a whole. The overall mean rate is 16; 16 in Nablus camps, and the camps of Jerusalem, and 17 in those of Hebron District. This is likely to be due in part to the higher CDR in camps when compared with the other settlements of the West Bank, but also probably reflects inaccuracies in the Israeli figures, owing to the under registration of deaths in the official records.

The high level of mortality in refugee camps of the West Bank is the outcome of the camps' nature, the housing conditions, and the inadequate health services provided to the refugees; or expressed otherwise, it represents the outcome of the life in exile, under the camps' conditions.

Variations in CDR among the refugee camps of the three Districts are quite small; the relatively high value for the Hebron camps is only about 8.5% above those for the other two Districts. While this differential may well be related to the poorer socio-economic conditions in the Hebron camps, sample size may also have had some effect. The Hebron sample represents only 10.2% of the total sample in the survey,

as against 59.1% and 30.7% from Nablus and Jerusalem respectively.

8.2.2 Age Specific Death Rate: (ASDR)

The Age Specific Death Rate shows the connection between mortality and age. This is calculated directly from the number of deaths in the 12 months preceding the 1987 sample survey per 1000 population of a given age group. The age intervals used vary from 5 to 20 years.

Table 8.1

ASDR in the Refugee Camps

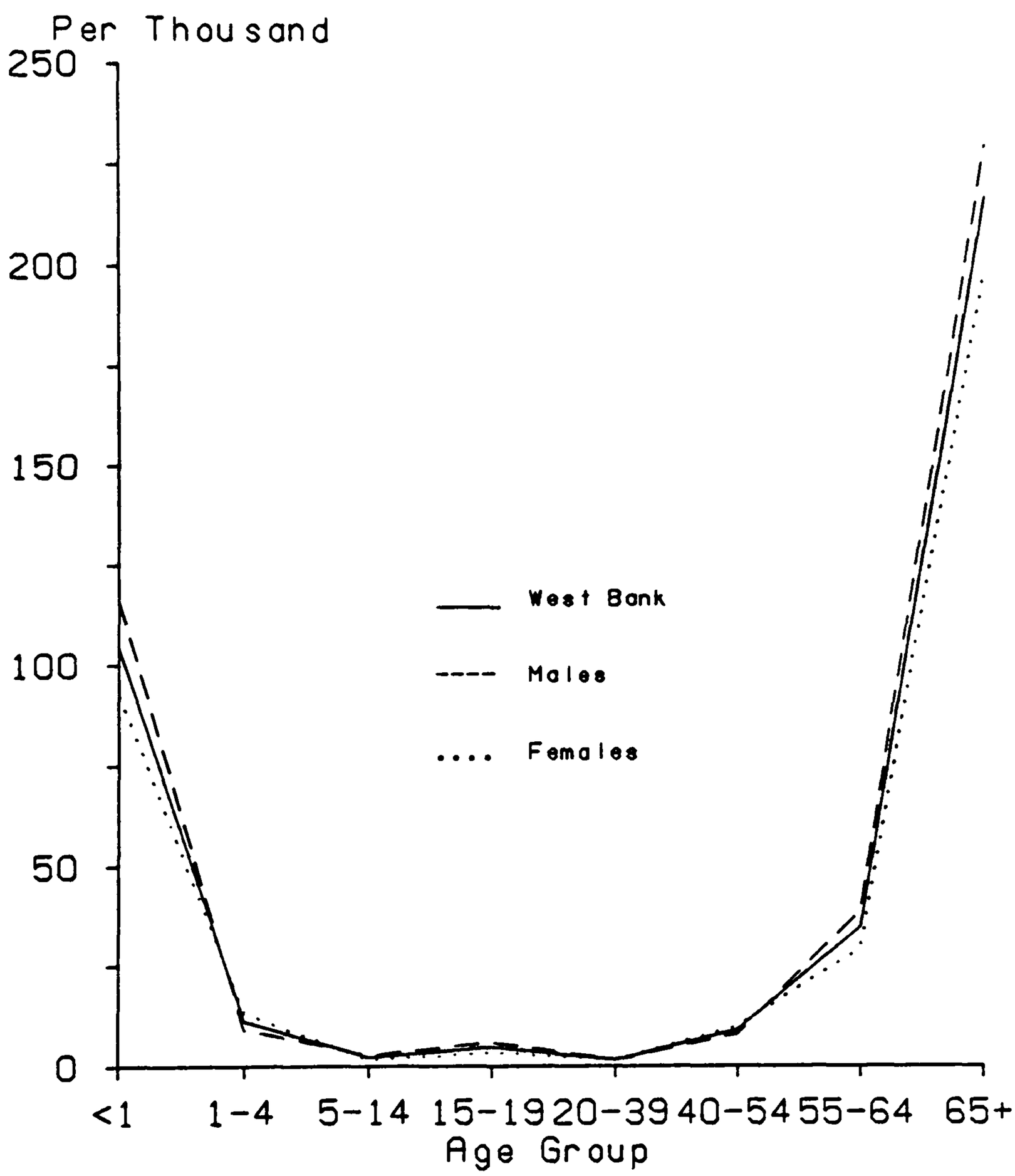
West Bank, 1987.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
0-1	116.07	92.59	104.55
1-4	9.06	13.33	11.09
5-14	2.62	1.45	2.06
15-19	5.88	3.30	4.66
20-39	1.57	1.55	1.56
40-54	7.91	9.90	8.99
55-64	39.06	29.41	34.78
65+	231.71	200.00	218.31
total	17.77	13.97	15.92

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

The trend in death rates by age is generally quite consistent, and throws light on some of the environmental conditions affecting mortality which are associated with age. Mortality is very high in infancy, and the mortality rate drops rapidly thereafter to reach 1.56 in the 20-39 year age group. Beyond age 40 it rises again, but it is not until age 65 and over that the death rate exceeds that in the first year of life. The high level of mortality in the early age group (0-4) is due to a mixture of factors including the camps' environment, living standards, and the low educational levels of ever married women, whereas the high level of mortality in the later age groups (55 and over) is due to the insufficient medical services needed for elderly people, as well

Figure 8.1 Age Specific Death Rate in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

as to general conditions and living standards of the refugees.

Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1 show a high ASDR in age group under 1 year, of 104.55. This age group contributes 28.04% of the total deaths in the refugee camps of the West Bank as a whole. However, only 8.54% of the total deaths occured between ages 1-4, and the ASDR declines to 11.09. Total deaths in the 0-4 age range represent 36.58% of all deaths.

The data show an ASDR of 2.06 in the 5-14 age group, followed by a rise to 4.66 in the 15-19 age group before reaching a minimum level of 1.56 in the 20-39 age group. The higher mortality rate in the 15-19 age group may be explained by the unrest prevailing the West Bank, where persons of these ages are usually exposed to the risk of death much more than the persons of other ages.

Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1 also reveal the fact that, beyond the age of 40, death rates rise rapidly with age. The ASDR for the 40-54 age group of 8.99 contributes 6.1% of total deaths. It rises to 34.78 in the 55-64 age group, representing 9.76% of all deaths, and rises even more rapidly beyond the age of 65, where the death rate reaches its maximum level of 218.31, more than twice the rate for infants; 37.8% of all deaths occur at age 65 or over.

The data also show that the ASDR is higher for males than for females, both overall and in the majority of age groups. The only two exceptions were those for the 1-4 age group, where the female rate is 13.33 compared with a male rate of 9.06, which may be explained by the preference shown to males and the greater care provided for male health; and for the 40-54 year age group, where the female rate is 9.9 compared with a male rate of 7.9, which may be explained by the risk of bearing children in these later ages.

Table 8.2 shows that the male rate was 27.2% greater than the female rate among the refugee camps population as a whole. The high mortality rate of males under 1 year may be explained by biological factors, and these, in addition to pressure resulting from the socio-economic conditions in refugee camps of the West Bank, may explain the high mortality rates of male persons over 55. The latter factor seems

to be of greater importance in influencing the mortality rate of the 55-64 year age group, while it seems to be replaced again by the biological factors in influencing the mortality rate of aged persons (65+).

Table 8.2

Male Excess Mortality in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Age Group	0-1	1-4	5-14	15-19	20-39	40-54	55-64	65+	Total
Male Mortality as% of Female	125.4	67.96	180.7	178.2	101.3	79.9	132.8	115.6	127.2

Source: Derived From Table 8.2.

Male excess mortality in 5-19 year age group may be related to 'accidents' where the males of these ages are usually exposed to the risk of death much more than the females.

8.2.3 Infant Mortality Rate: (IMR)

The Infant Mortality Rate, as a critical factor in overall mortality and a good index of overall health status, indicates the number of infant deaths per 1000 live birth in a given year. The trends in IMR's appear to have been about the same for the West Bank and Gaza Strip; they are estimated to have fallen from 152 and 162 per 1000 respectively in 1967 to 132 in both areas in 1974 (Schmelz, 1977), and then more rapidly to about 53.1-56.1 in Gaza, and about 53.5-63.5 in the West Bank in 1985 (Vernmund, 1985). Reported IMR's (Israel Ministry of Health, 1984) for the West Bank are much lower; 33.6 in 1968, 30.7 in 1974, and 25.6 per 1000 in 1982. Clearly, a high proportion of infant deaths are not reported. This is confirmed by Israeli estimates of IMRs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip which suggest figures of 150 per 1000 prior to 1967, 100 in the mid 1970s and 70 per 1000 in the early 1980s (Israel Ministry of Health, 1986). By comparision, the IMR among Arabs in Israel had fallen from 62.5 in 1955 to 39.5 in 1975, and to 17.5 in 1986; among Moslems, it had fallen from 66.0 to 18.0 over the period 1955-86 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1988). For non-Kuwaitis in Kuwait, the IMR per 1000 rose from 30.9 in 1965 to 34.2

in 1975 before it declined to 14.9 in 1986 (Kuwait Central Statistical Office, 1986). Variations in infant mortality decline for these groups are attributed to differences in the socio-economic conditions under which Palestinians live, health services provided, migration processes, and also to a possible under-registration of deaths. Clearly, those Palestinians residing in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are subject to poor economic conditions, lower standards of medical care, and the emigration of educated persons, at the same time they may also show a less cooperative attitude towards the registration of deaths.

In refugee camps of the West Bank, the IMR was estimated to have fallen from 97.7 in the period 1967-1969 to about 83.2 in 1973-1975 (United Nations, 1975). It was also estimated to have fallen from 84 in 1975 to 63 in 1976, 37 in 1981 and 27 in 1986 (United Nations, 1987). These figures suggest a decline in IMR of the refugee camps in the West Bank of about 68% over 11 years, as compared with a decline in IMR of the West Bank population as a whole of about 58% over the same period; or expressed otherwise, it seems to suggest greater improvements in health services provided to refugee camps in the West Bank, which have been shown to be of low levels. Much of this apparent decline may well be a product of the under-registration of deaths in the camps as the indirect estimates strongly suggest.

The 1987 sample survey, however, suggests a very much higher IMR of about 94.65 in the refugee camps of the West Bank, based on the ratio of infant deaths to the number of recorded live births during the 12 months preceding the 1987 sample survey (Table 8.3). As Table 8.3 shows, the refugee camps of Nablus and Jerusalem Districts show a lower IMR than the overall mean (by 3.9% in Nablus and by 1.4% in Jerusalem camps), while it is higher by 26.8% in Hebron District camps, due to factors discussed above. The small size of the sample in Hebron camps may have affected the result, but it is nevertheless true that socio-economic conditions in Nablus and Jerusalem are better than in Hebron. There is also a greater excess of male rates in Hebron camps, where the male rate was higher by 47.9% than the overall mean for males, contrasting with the Nablus and Jerusalem camps where it was lower by 1.4% and 7.8% respectively.

Table 8.3

IMR in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987 (by Sex)

District	Male	Female	Total
Nablus	95.89	85.71	90.91
Jerusalem	102.56	83.33	93.33
Hebron	153.85	83.33	120.00
Total	104.00	84.75	94.65

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

The high level of IMR in refugee camps of the West Bank may be related to both socio-economic conditions and environmental factors. It has already been shown that fertility levels in the refugee camps of the West Bank are strongly influenced by the educational status of mothers, which affects both total family size and the spacing of births. Similar factors influence the infant mortality rates. Unplanned spacing of pregnancies is likely to lead to nutritional problems for the mothers, the children or both. Uneducated mothers know little of modern methods of infant care; medical facilities for the care of pregnant women in the camps are poor; and the majority of births take place at home without the attendance of a physician. Thus, for example, IMRs range from 178 per 1000 for illiterate mothers to 70.4 per 1000 for mothers of preparatory educational level and over.

Table 8.4 presents results on infant mortality by selected characteristics of the father and in relation to sanitary conditions in the camps recorded by the 1987 sample survey. IMR is not closely related to the father's educational status. Fathers of preparatory educational level or over experience an IMR only some 4% lower than those of illiterate or elementary educational levels. Significant differences in infant mortality may, however, be observed between income groups. Families with monthly incomes below 100 J.D experience an IMR some 18% greater than those with incomes above 100 J.D. Families on incomes below 100 J.D experience an IMR some 16.6% greater than those with incomes above 200 J.D. For the poor, difficulty in obtaining an adequate supply of nutrients, and large family size coupled with limited

Table 8.4
IMR in the Refugee Camps-West Bank,1987. by Socio-Economic Characteristics

Characteristics		IMR
Father's education		
	illiterate	37.21
	elementary	37.03
	preparatory& over	35.71
Monthly family income		
	-100	39.51
	100-199	33.47
	200+	33.89
Father's work status		
	employed	35.19
	unemployed	41.67
The sewage of the house		
	sewer-lines	35.18
	absorbtion pit	37.13
	no sewage	41.67
Water source		
	running water inside the house	35.78
	other	50.00

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

resources may create nutritional dificiencies among family members; furthermore it is difficult for families on low income levels to improve the basic amenities (for example sanitation) or to obtain good medical care.

There are also pronounced differences in IMR between employed fathers and those who were unemployed. Unemployed fathers experience 18.4% higher IMR than those employed.

The data also shows pronounced differences in IMR between households with sewerage pipes and those with absorption pits and those which still have no sewage system. Households of the second and third groups experience an IMR some 5.5% and 18.5% respectively greater than those of the first group.

The greatest differences in IMR is to be found in relation to the water supply of the households. The figures in Table 8.4 indicate that households without running water inside the house experience 39.7% higher IMR than households with running water inside the house.

In summary, the improper housing and unpleasant residential environment compounded by unplanned fertility and lack of health services provided, together with limited resources are responsible for creating the high probability of death under age one in refugee camps of the West Bank.

8.2.4 Occupational Specific Death Rate: (OSDR)

Occupational-Specific Death Rate shows the connection between mortality and occupation. This is calculated directly from the number of deaths in a given occupation during the 12 months preceding the 1987 sample survey per 1000 population in this occupation.

As Table 8.5 shows, there are significant differences in OSDR. Those who worked in transportation, where the risk of accident is particularly high, experienced 25.3% higher mortality than the average. It also indicates that persons who worked in commerce experience 11.6% higher mortality than the average. This is due to the fact that many of them are elderly.

Persons working in professional, administrative and clerical occupations, together with those working in services and industry all experience mortality below the average. This is most clearly marked in the case of the professional, administrative and clerical group, where mortality is 24.2% below average. For service and industrial workers the figures are 8% and 4% respectively. This is associated with the fact that nearly all the professional, administrative and clerical workers, together with some of those who work in the service and industrial sectors, are relatively well educated and trained and thus are likely to have more knowledge in the fields of health and medical care.

Table 8.5

OSDR in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Occupation	Age of deceased					Death Rate
	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+	Total	
agriculture	0	0	0	3	3	33.71
industry	0	0	1	3	4	31.25
construction	1	0	4	6	11	34.38
professional, administrative & clerical	0	0	1	1	2	24.69
commerce	0	0	1	3	4	36.36
transportation	1	0	0	1	2	40.82
other services	0	1	0	7	8	29.96
Total	2	1	7	24	34	32.57

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

On the other hand, those working in construction and agriculture experience mortality rates some 5.6% and 3.5% respectively above the average. This is likely to be associated with their generally low levels of education. In addition, 66.3% of those employed in construction and 71.9% of those in the agricultural sector are employed in Israel where the only jobs available to them involve hard manual labour (see Chapter 12). Lengthy journeys to and from work extend their working day to

12-14 hours, another factor likely to affect their general health.

8.2.5 Indirect Estimates of Infant and Childhood Mortality:

The techniques used here for estimating infant and chilhood mortality are based on the 1987 sample survey questions about the total number of children ever-born to women, and the number of children dead classified by five-year age group of mother (Table 8.6), and by the mother's five-year duration-of-marriage group (Table 8.7). The Trussell method and the West model life table were used.

Tables 8.6 and Table 8.7 show that the proportions of children dead increase as expected with age of mothers and their marital duration. The duration-based mortality level is somewhat higher than that obtained when the data were classified by age, but the reference period of the age-based estimate is somewhat more recent.

The data in Table 8.6 can be used to examine recent trends in childhood mortality in the camps in the 15 or so years before the survey. The $q_{(x)}$ values shown on Table 8.6 were converted to $l_{(x)}$ values and then by interpolation in model life tables, it is possible to find corresponding values of $q_{(1)}$ and $q_{(5)}$ for each of the seven age or marriage duration groups.

The age data are plotted on figure 8.2. For the youngest respondents, women 15-19, we see the familier irregularity associated with excess risks of childhood mortality amongst teenage mothers. Apart from this, there is a relatively smooth downward path of mortality before age 1 or before age 5 extending backwards some 7 to 8 years before the survey. Thereafter, the graph flattens out, probably due to greater omission of some dead children by older respondents than to a real slowing of the mortality decline.

The survey data analysed this way suggest that infant mortality was probably between 60 and 70 per 1000 in the year or so before the survey. These figures are lower than those shown in Table 8.3 but the direct method of calculation is flawed because of recall errors and perhaps different completeness of reporting of births and

Table 8.6
Estimation of Chilhood Mortality in the West Bank Refugee Camps, 1987
(Trussell Method)

Age group	x	Average C.E.B per woman P_i	Proportion of children dead D_i	Multiplying factor K_i	Proportion dead by age q_x	Proportion surviving by age l_x	Reference period before survey t_x	Approximate reference date
15-19	1	0.0825	0.0800	1.0286	0.0823	0.9177	1.1701	1986.5
20-24	2	0.5551	0.0851	1.0768	0.0916	0.9084	2.2454	1985.5
25-29	3	1.4699	0.1152	1.0368	0.1194	0.8806	3.7587	1983.9
30-34	5	2.8350	0.1336	1.0455	0.1397	0.8603	5.5763	1982.1
35-39	10	6.1667	0.1542	1.0642	0.1641	0.8359	7.6231	1980.1
40-44	15	7.6909	0.1619	1.0525	0.1704	0.8296	10.0059	1977.7
45-49	20	8.3905	0.1657	1.0438	0.1730	0.8270	12.9720	1974.7

C.E.B: children ever-born
The multiplier have been calculated according to Trussell's variant (West mortality pattern).
The approximate date of the survey is 1987.7
Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 8.7
Estimation of Chilhood Mortality in the West Bank Refugee Camps, 1987
(Trussell Method)

Marriage duration	Index	Average C.E.B per woman P_i	Proportion of children dead D_i	Multiplying factor K_i	Proportion dead by age q_x	Proportion surviving by age l_x	Reference period before survey t_x	Approximate reference date
0-4	1	0.8828	0.0938	1.1409	0.1070	0.8930	1.3639	1986.3
5-9	2	2.1887	0.1078	1.0039	0.1082	0.8918	3.5301	1984.2
10-14	3	3.3118	0.1396	1.0149	0.1417	0.8583	5.9507	1981.7
15-19	4	5.2703	0.1538	1.0353	0.1592	0.8408	8.4236	1979.3
20-24	5	7.9903	0.1652	1.0181	0.1682	0.8318	11.1166	1976.6
25-29	6	8.8447	0.1734	1.0051	0.1743	0.8257	14.4736	1973.2
30-34	7	8.9787	0.1754	1.0106	0.1773	0.8227	17.4772	1970.2

C.E.B: children ever-born
The multiplier have been calculated according to Trussell's variant (West mortality pattern).
The approximate date of the survey is 1987.7
Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

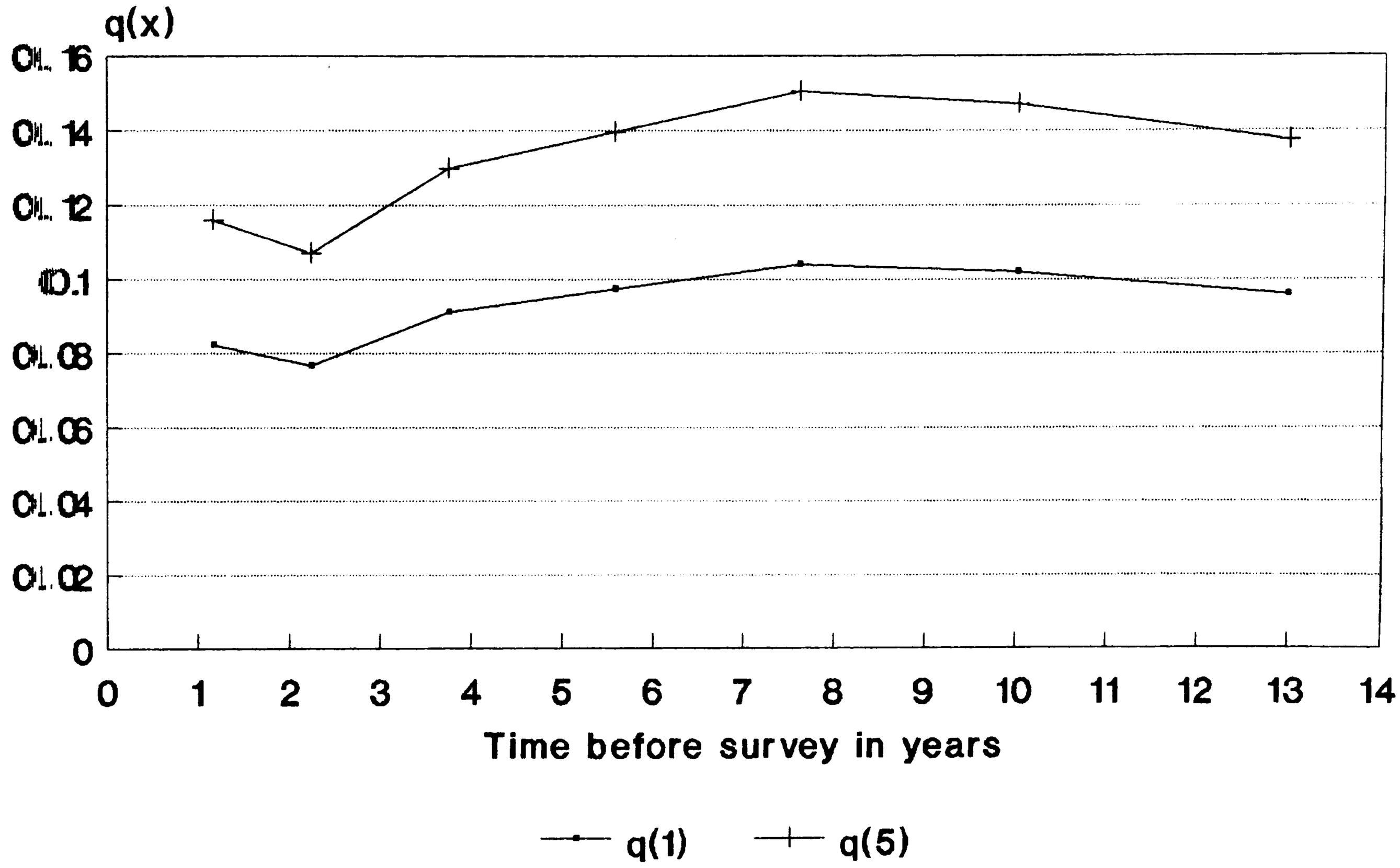
Table 8.8
Mortality in the Camps of
the West Bank, 1987
(Marriage Duration)

x	$q_{(x)}$	l_x	x	q_1	q_5
2	0.1070	0.8930	_ 0.3457	0.081	0.131
3	0.1082	0.8918	_ 0.3994	0.074	0.119
5	0.1417	0.8583	_ 0.2991	0.085	0.142
10	0.1593	0.8407	_0.2819	0.091	0.146
15	0.1683	0.8317	_0.2858	0.091	0.145
20	0.1743	0.8257	_0.3226	0.085	0.136
25	0.1772	0.8228	_0.3848	0.076	0.122

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Fig. 8.2

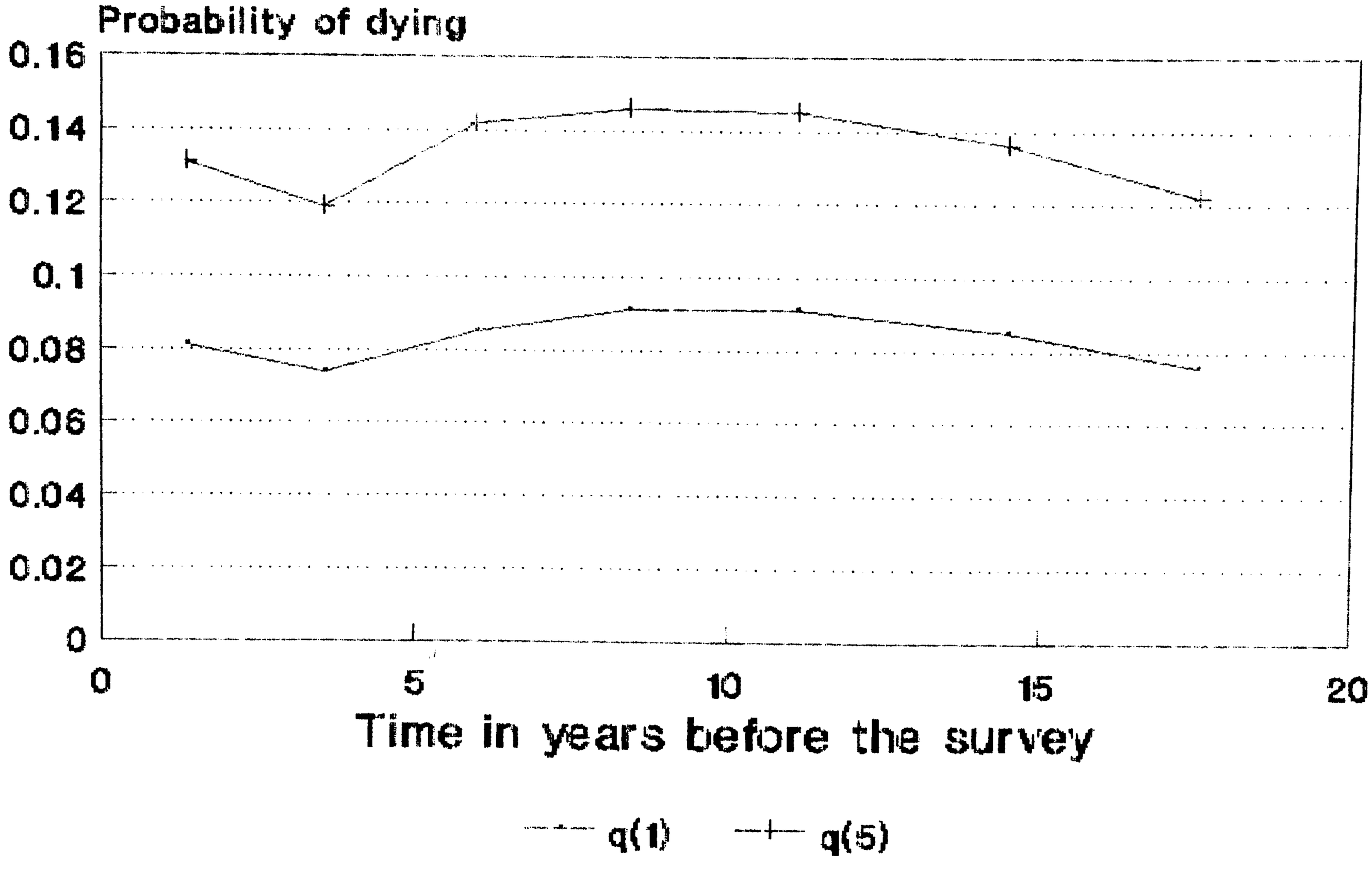
Childhood mortality trends in the refugee camps of the West Bank (1987)



Source: Household survey

Fig. 8.3

Childhood mortality trends in the refugee camps of the West Bank (1987)



Data by marriage duration

infant deaths. The conclusion is that although camp mortality is still much higher than the levels on the West Bank as a whole (cf. P. 155), the indirect estimates suggest a figure of about 84 per 1000 some 3 years before the survey (see Table 8.6 and Figure 8.2). The UN figures are clearly in erorr but the Israeli figure of 70 per 1000 in the early 1980s is a less severe under-estimate. More work is needed in this important area.

8.3 Characteristics of the Deceased:

Table 8.9 outlines marital status of the deceased and their place of death recorded in the 1987 sample survey. The Table shows that 40.2% of the total deceased in refugee camps of the West Bank were under the age of marriage. This age is the most likely time to contract a disease.

About 4.9% of the deceased were single; 22% were married, and 32.9% were widowed and divorced. With the exception of the unmarried who died because of accidents, it is known that death rates are somewhat lower among married persons than among the widowed and divorced, as marriages probably are somewhat selective of healthy lives, and also because married persons may have someone to look after them when they are sick or may be apt to have a sensible diet, regular hours, and so forth.

The data also shows that more than two-thirds (67.1%) of all deceased died at homes; only a little more than one-quarter died in hospitals (26.8%), while the residue (6.1%) died elsewhere, reflecting the influence of the low levels of income in the refugee camps in providing suitable medical care, and reflecting the inadequate or poor health services provided by UNRWA. It has been noted that, in 1985, the number of hospital beds available to UNRWA patients was about 274, and instead of increasing it declined from 415 beds in 1970 to 267 in 1986 (United Nations, 1970&1986).

The figures in Table 8.10 show these characteristics in relation to the age of deceased in refugee camps of the West Bank, where all those who died before the age of marriage were below the age of 15; 75% of the unmarried were below the age

Table 8.9
Deaths in the Refugee Camps-West Bank,1987. by Marital Status and Place of Death. *percentages*

Characteristics		Total
Marital Status		100
	Under age of Marriage	40.2
	Single	4.9
	Married	22.0
	Divorced& widowed	32.9
Place of Death		100
	Hospital	26.8
	Home	67.1
	Elsewhere	6.1

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 8.10
Marital Status of the Deceased and Place of Death,by Age in the Refugee Camps-West Bank,1987. *percentages*

Age	0-14	15-19	20-39	40-54	55-64	65+
Marital Status						
Under age of Marriage	100.0					
Single		75.0	25.0			
		100.0	50.0			
Married			5.6	22.2	27.8	44.4
			50.0	80.0	62.5	25.8
Divorced& widowed				3.7	11.1	85.2
				20.0	37.5	74.2
Place of Death						
Hospital	45.5	4.5	4.5		22.7	22.7
	30.3	33.3	50.0		62.5	16.1
Home	38.2		1.8	9.1	3.6	47.3
	63.6		5.0	100.0	25.0	83.9
Elsewhere	40.0	40.0			20.0	
	6.1	66.7			12.5	

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

of 20, while 25% were 20-39 years old. It reveals the increasing percentages of the deceased among the married persons with increasing age, where 5.6% of the deceased were 20-39 years old, increased gradually to 44.4% by the age of 65 and over. And 3.7% of the divorced or the widowed were 40-54 years old, rising to 85.2% by the age of 65 and over.

Table 8.10 also shows that 45.5% of those who died in hospitals were below the age of 15, and a similar proportion were above the age of 54. Some 38.2% of those who died at home were under 15, and 47.3% were 65 and over. These figures reveal the greater medical care provided to children, where 30.3% of the deceased aged 0-14 years died in hospitals compared with 16.1% for persons aged 65 and over, although a high proportion (63.6%) of children died at home. Table 8.10 also shows that 80% of persons who died 'elsewhere' were under the age of 20. This is the age which is most exposed to 'accidents'.

From the above discussion about mortality in refugee camps of the West Bank, we can note that the high mortality levels in these camps is a function of several complex influences, including the demographic factors such as the large family size and the lack of child spacing; the social and environmental factors particularly income levels, housing and environmental sanitation, and including medical health services provided to refugees which are evident to be of low level.

8.4 Population Change:

In a situation of persistant net migration loss (see Chapter 9) any population growth in the refugee camps of the West Bank has been the product of natural increase. The heaviest emigration losses from the West Bank occured as a result of the June 1967 war; UNRWA's estimate of displaced persons of that war showed that nearly 150,000 registered refugees fled to East Jordan. This estimate, however, did not separate the camp and the non-camp refugees. (United Nations, n.d).

The author's estimate of displaced refugees from the West Bank camps, as a result of that war, are presented in Table 8.11, suggesting a figure between 63,787 and 70, 238 by end of August, 1967 or 46.7 to 49.1% of total, also estimated by the

author, as of May 30, 1967.

Table 8.11

Emigrants from Refugee Camps-West Bank

Author's Estimate

r	Refugees in Camps 1952 (1)	Estimate of Refugees in Camps 30 May 1967	Refugees in Camps 30 August 1967 (2)	Emigrants
1 *	118,291	136,636	72,849	63,787
1.32**	118,291	143,087	72,849	70,238

r: Annual growth rate.
* For the period 1961-67 in the West Bank as a whole.
**For the period 1967-87 in the refugee camps-West Bank.
Sources:
1) United Nations, 1952.
2) , 1968.

8.4.1 Numerical Change:

UNRWA estimates of the number of Palestinian refugees living in the camps of the West Bank are presented in Table 8.12. The Table shows a complex sequence of growth and decline in their number over the entire 20-year period, 1967 to 1987. One reason for the unsteady growth in their number is the nature of the UNRWA data, which have been shown to be incomplete and in the nature of approximations. Another factor is likely to be the subsequent fighting in the Jordan valley untill the early 1970s; the number of refugees declined from 72,849 in 1967 to 69,151 in 1971 and the annual growth rate averaged -1.3% for this period. After 1971, the number of refugees living in the West Bank camps rose steadily, showing an annual growth rate of 1.98% over the period 1972-87. This increase was associated with obstacles placed in the path of the would-be migrant, such as Israeli travel regulations, which prohibit the return of males below 26 within nine months of their departure and the policy adopted in the Gulf states and elsewhere of giving visas only to those who had already obtained jobs.

Table 8.12
The Refugee Camps' Population-West Bank
(1952-1987)

Years	Refugees	% Change	Index (1952 base)	Years	Refugees	% Change	Index (1952 base)
1967	72,849	-38.4	61.6	1978	80,704	+3.5	68.2
1969	73,902	+1.4	62.5	1979	82,299	+2.0	69.6
1970	73,058	-1.1	61.8	1980	84,035	+2.1	71.0
1971	69,151	-5.3	58.5	1981	86,359	+2.8	73.0
1972	70,474	+1.9	59.6	1982	87,724	+1.6	74.2
1973	72,078	+2.3	60.9	1983	88,867	+1.3	75.1
1974	73,850	+2.4	62.4	1984	90,905	+2.3	76.8
1975	75,468	+2.2	63.8	1985	92,588	+1.8	78.3
1976	74,941	-0.7	63.4	1986	92,445	-0.2	78.2
1977	77,999	+4.1	65.9	1987	94,824	+2.6	80.2

* The base year 1952: 118,291 people.
Source: United Nations, 1967-1987.

Table 8.12 also shows the number of refugees living in the camps as a percentage of the 1952 total. This index declined abruptly to 61.6% following the 1967 war, and reached its lowest point, 58.5%, in 1971. Thereafter it rose steadily to 80.2% in 1987. Despite a high rate of natural increase, this has not yet outweighed the effect of migration losses.

However, if the annual growth rate of 1.97% recorded over the period 1971-87 continues until the end of the century, the population of the West Bank refugee camps will reach about 122,501 by the year 2000. This figure is slightly above the number living in the camps in 1952 and about 32% above the 1987 total.

8.4.2 Natural Increase:

As noted earlier (Chapter 2), the natural increase for the total Palestinian population, as estimated by the U.S.Bureau of the Census in 1984, was about 32.12 per 1000, involving a CBR of 39.3 and a CDR of 7.17. The natural increase among Palestinians residing in refugee camps in Syria was about 39 per 1000 in 1984, with a CBR of 44.2 and a CDR of 5.2 as has been shown; this is well above the natural increase of the Palestinians as a whole and that of the West Bank refugee camps population as recorded by the 1987 sample survey of about 31.25 (Table 8.13).

The very high natural increase rate suggested for the Syrian camps is accounted for by a very low and probably inaccurate CDR rather than an exceptionally high CBR, a situation which applies also to the Palestinian population as a whole. On the other hand, the somewhat lower natural increase rate in the refugee camps of the West Bank is the product of a high CDR rather than a low CBR. In short, the Palestinian population as a whole is still characterized by very high fertility and variations in the rate of natural increase are determined mainly by variations in mortality.

As Table 8.13 shows, the natural increase rate in the refugee camps of the West Bank remains above 30 per 1000 and there are no significant differences between the three Districts. The slightly lower natural increase rate in the Hebron camps is due to a significantly higher death rate.

Table 8.13

Natural Increase in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987. (by District)

	Nablus	Jerusalem	Hebron	Total
CBR	46.96	47.44	47.62	47.17
CDR	15.76	15.81	17.14	15.92
NI	31.20	31.61	30.48	31.25

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

The above discussion of population growth in the refugee camps of the West Bank suggests that the Arab-Israeli conflict has been a major influence on the emigration of the Palestinians. This conflict brought further suffering to Palestine refugees in 1967, many of them fled for the first time and many others were uprooted for the second time. It is clear that the unsettled political circumstances prevailing the West Bank produce fluctuation in the rate of population growth in the refugee camps. The only source of population growth in these camps is the natural increase, which also represents the only source of replacement for the emigrants of the 1967 exodus and thereafter.

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CHAPTER NINE

EMIGRATION FROM THE REFUGEE CAMPS

9.1 Introduction:

As suggested in the last chapter, emigration, resulting to a large degree from the Arab-Israeli conflict, has had a profound effect upon population trends in the West Bank. Although a number of studies have appeared which analyse emigration from the West Bank as a whole, only a small minority of these distinguish refugees from other elements of the West Bank population and refugees from the camps are rarely identified separately.

One reason for this lack of information is the nature of the UNRWA data -the basic source for any study of Palestinian refugees- which pay little attention to the migration component. We have already noted (Chapter 8) UNRWA's opinion that nearly 150,000 'registered refugees' moved to East Jordan as a result of the June 1967 war; this estimate did not separate the camp and the non-camp refugees. Another factor has been the attitude of the Jordanian authorities. In the period before 1967, during which the West Bank was considered to be part of the kingdom of Jordan, the term 'refugee' was not used in the Jordanian statistics. The Jordanian Census of 1961 did reveal that the West Bank had provided about 80% of all emigrants known to have been outside the kingdom in 1961, of whom well over 80% were male, but refugee or camp emigrants were not identified. This emigration was said to be almost entirely motivated by economic considerations (Jordan Department of Statistics, 1964).

The only data specifically on emigration from the refugee camps of the West Bank are those contained in the Israeli census of 1967, conducted in the West Bank directly after the war. These were used in studies by Sabatello (1983) and Gabriel and Sabatello (1986). The census asked heads of household to report their

sons and daughters living abroad and thus apears to omit the spouses and children of such emigrants as well as those who did not leave behind parents or relatives who could report them.

The data in the 1967 census show that the emigrants from the refugee camps represented only 8.9% of the total emigrants from the West Bank. Of these, about 48.% left the West Bank several months before the census, which was conducted in September 1967, mainly (67.8%) for Jordan (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968). Presumably a high proportion of the emigrants from refugee camps left the West Bank between the 1967 war in June and the census conducted in September. The terms 'refugee' and 'refugee camps' disappeared from the Israeli statistics after 1967, making it dificult to follow up demographic aspects of the refugee camps' population after that year. That is, of course, in addition to the problems caused by the different definitions of the term 'refugee' as used by UNRWA and by the Israelis.

Such limited studies as do exist on emigration from the refugee camps of the West Bank indicate that, among the West Bank population that of the refugee camps had been the least likely to emigrate during the period before 1967, due to the limited financial and human capital in these camps (Sabatello, 1983; Gabriel&Sabatello, 1986). It has been noted that these studies depend mainly on the 1967 census and thus, used that census's definition of the terms 'refugee' and 'emigrant'.

In the 1987 sample survey carried out by the author, which included a separate questionnaire on migration, all heads of the household covered by the survey were asked whether they had any members who lived outside the camps and still maintained an economic relationship with the household to which they had formerly belonged. In all such cases, these members, their wives and children (some of whom had been born outside the West Bank) were recorded, together with their characteristics.

All emigrants from the camps recorded in the 1987 survey were living outside the West Bank at the time of the survey. The 683 emigrants thus defined represented 13.3% of the sample population, ranging from 14% in the Nablus camps to 12.3% in the Jerusalem camps, and 11.4% in the camps of the Hebron District. The low participation rate in the Hebron camps is related to the poor socio-economic conditions in that District. While these might appear to encourage emigration, the mobility of the inhabitants of the Hebron camps is constrained by lack of funds and by low levels of education which restrict their ability to take part, for example, in the movement to the Gulf states.

46.7% of the emigrants identified in the survey were defined as the children of heads of household resident in the West Bank camps. These, together with their spouses and offspring, constituted 83.6% of the emigrants. A further 6.4% of the emigrants were the brothers or sisters of the heads of household; with their spouses and offspring they account for 14.2% of the total. The remaining 2.1% were other relatives. These figures identify familial emigration as the main form of movement out of the camps. This characteristic may well have resulted in an under-estimate of the scale of emigration, many complete families leaving no relatives behind to record their having left.

Following the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967, emigrants after that date could only return if they were in possession of a 'reunion permit' issued by the Israeli authorities. Such permits are not available to individuals who have been outside the West Bank for more than six years. Those who left before 1967 had no right of return and thus were forced to remain outside the West Bank (Kossaifi, 1985). 37.6% of emigrants from the refugee camps recorded in the survey had no reunion permit; of these, some 84% reported that they wished to return to the West Bank. As a result of these restrictions, 24.2% of the emigrants recorded in the survey have not visited the West Bank within the past seven years, 30.8% within the past six and

65% within the past two. 90.3% of all emigrants expressed a desire to return.

The 1987 sample survey recorded yearly remittances from 302 working emigrants to their relatives in the West Bank at 52,500 Jordanian Dinars, an average of some 173.8 J.D (347.6 sterling pounds) per head. Nearly two thirds of these remittances (62.3%) came from emigrants living in the Gulf states, more than a quarter (27.7%) from those in Jordan, 4.1% from those in other Arab countries and 5.9% from those outside the Arab world. In per capita terms the largest sum (211 J.D) came from the Gulf states and the lowest (130 J.D) from Jordan.

9.2 Direction of Movement:

As mentioned above, all emigrants from the camps recorded in the 1987 survey were living outside the West Bank at that time and no cases of internal migration within the West Bank were identified. While there can be little doubt that external migration is dominant, internal migration on a small scale may be concealed by the movement of complete families leaving no one behind to report that movement.

The 1987 sample survey recorded, for each emigrant identified, his or her place of birth, last place of residence (before moving to the current one) and, of course, place of residence at the time of the survey. The data are displayed in Table 9.1.

9.2.1 Place of Birth:

As Table 9.1 shows, some 58.7% of the emigrants from the refugee camps were born in the West Bank and 13% were born in the Israeli territory or the Gaza Strip; together these two categories constituted some 71.7% of the emigrants. A further 14.5% were born in Jordan; these, together with those born in the Gulf states account for more than one quarter (26.7%) of the total.

It is important to note that many emigrant women, after becoming preg-

Table 9.1
Movement of Emigrants from Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987

Place of Birth	Last Risedence / Current Residence		Jordan				Arab Gulf States				Other Arab Countries				Non Arab Countries			Total
			W.B	J	O.A.C	total	W.B	J	A.G.S	total	W.B	J	O.A.C	total	W.B	N.A.C	total	
West Bank (W.B)		No.	188			188	158	1		159	34			34	20		20	401
		%	100.0			100.0	99.4	0.6		100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0		100.0	
		% of total	73.4			60.1	66.4	7.7		55.0	82.9			75.6	64.5		55.6	58.7
Mandate Palestine & Gaza			37			37	36			36	5			5	11		11	89
			100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			
			14.5			11.8	15.1			12.5	12.2			11.1	35.5		30.6	13 0
Jordan (J)			17	56		73	10	12		22	1	3		4				99
			23.3	76.7		100.0	45.5	54.5		100.0	25.0	75.0		100 0				
			6.6	100.0		23.3	4.2	92.3		7.6	2.4	100.0		8.9				14.5
Arab Gulf States (A.G.S)			14			14	31		38	69								83
			100.0			100.0	44.9		55.1	100.0								
			5.5			4.5	13.0		100.0	23.9								12.2
Other Arab Countries (O.A.C)					1	1	3			3	1		1	2				6
					100.0		100.0				50.0		50.0	100.0				
					100.0	0.3	1.3			1.0	2.4			4.4				0.9
Non Arab Countries (N.A.C)																5	5	5
																100.0		
																100.0	13.9	0.7
Total			256	56	1	313	238	13	38	289	41	3	1	45	31	5	36	6 83
			81.8	17.9	0.3	45.8	82.4	4.5	13.1	42.3	91.1	6.7	2.2	6.6	86.1	13.9	5.3	100 0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

nant, return to the West Bank for their confinement and then, with their babies, rejoin their husbands outside the territory. By this means, their offspring achieve the 'right' of return to the West Bank, provided that they are not absent for more than six years. This practice, together with the fact that the vast majority of emigrants were born after the 1948 exodus (88.4% of them are below the age of 40), explains the high proportion of emigrants born in the West Bank.

9.2.2 Last Place of Residence:

Emigration from the West Bank refugee camps is characterized by short-distance movement. As Table 9.1 shows, a sizeable majority (some 61%) of the emigrants moved from the area of birth directly to their present place of residence; this category containing 400 emigrants born in the West Bank, and 16 born in areas outside. Some 24.5% or 167 emigrants born outside the West Bank have resided in other places, mostly in the West Bank (99.4%), before they moved again to their present place of residence. The remaining 14.6% or 100 emigrants are still living in their place of birth outside the West Bank.

Table 9.1 also shows that large proportions of emigrants born in the West Bank (99.8%); in the Gulf states (54.2%); in Jordan (28.3%); in the other Arab countries (33.3%), and all emigrants born in the Gaza Strip and Israel resided in the West Bank prior to their departure to the place of destination. It also shows that large proportions of emigrants born in Jordan (56.6%); in the Gulf states (45.8%); in other Arab countries (16.7%), and all emigrants born in non Arab countries are still living in their place of birth. These figures indicate that emigrants born in the West Bank were the most settled proportion of all emigrants. They moved directly to the place of destination, while the others moved stepwise to the place of destination.

9.2.3 Current Place of Residence:

As Table 9.1 shows, some 95% of emigrants from the West Bank refugee camps have emigrated to other countries of the Arab world- 45.8% to Jordan, 42.3% to the Gulf states, and 6.6% to other Arab countries- while only 5% emigrated to non Arab countries. These figures indicate that emigrants from refugee camps of the West Bank move mainly for a short distance, towards the same cultural regions where they can find jobs and also where the social environment is suitable for them.

Table 9.1 also shows that, of all emigrants from refugee camps of the West Bank to Jordan, some 81.8% came from the West Bank; only 0.3% left the other Arab countries for Jordan, while the rest (17.9%) were born and still living in Jordan. A large proportion of emigrants from refugee camps to the Gulf states came from the West Bank (82.4%); about 4.5% resided in Jordan before they arrived in the Gulf states, and 13.1% were born and still living in these countries.

Of the emigrants living in the other Arab countries, 91.1% had arrived directly from the West Bank, 6.7% had previously lived in Jordan and 2.2% had been born in those countries. Of the emigrants living in non Arab countries, 13.9% were children born there and the remainder had moved there direct from the West Bank.

The survey revealed relatively minor differences between the camps of the three Districts as regards their chosen destination areas. The Jerusalem camps recorded the highest proportion (7.2%) of their emigrants as living outside the Arab world, while there were no such cases from the Hebron camps, more than 93% of whose emigrants lived in Jordan or the Gulf states. Little more than 5% of the Nablus emigrants lived in non-Arab countries.

9.3 Date of Movement and Reason for Staying Abroad:

Table 9.2 shows the dates at which emigrants recorded by the 1987 survey

left the West Bank, together with the reasons given for their migration. Family ties are clearly a major influence, since 43.2% of all emigrants moved to accompany their husbands or fathers. A further 30.6% moved to obtain employment and a small but significant proportion (2.6%) emigrated to further their education. The effects of the Israeli occupation are to be seen in the fact that 15.2% remained outside the West Bank because they lacked 'reunion permits' and a further 8.3% for reasons of 'security'.

A sizeable majority (68.6%) of the refugees recorded in the survey had left the West Bank after 1974. Factors at work to create a demand for their labour in this period included the development boom sparked off in the Gulf states by the oil price rises following the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, reconstruction in Jordan following the 1970 civil war in that country and the outflow of Lebanese capital to Jordan as a result of civil war in the Lebanon from 1976, all of which increased the demand for manual labourers.

Only 4.4% of all recorded migrants had left before the 1967 war. The number is in any case likely to be small since many of those who left more than 20 years ago will have no relatives remaining in the West Bank to report them. However, it is significant that half the emigrants in this category lack 'reunion permits' and thus represent those who happened to be outside the West Bank during the war and were prevented from returning. During and directly after the war of 1967, from June 1967 to December 1969, some 11.4% of all emigrants had left or were forced to remain outside the West Bank, mainly for 'security reasons' or the lack of 'reunion permits', these two causes account for 55.1% of emigrants in these 18 months and nearly one-quarter (22.4%) of all emigrants after 1967.

Emigration, as an alternative to unemployment i.e for those who were unable to find jobs in the West Bank, reached a high point in the period 1975-79,

Table 9.2
Emigration from Refugee Camps-West Bank
Date of Departure by Causes of Staying Abroad

Date	Causes	Work	Education	Security reasons	Have No reunion permit	Accompany husband/father	Total
Pre June 1967	No.	10			15	5	30
	%	33.3			50.0	16.7	100.0
	% of total	4.8			14.4	1.7	4.4
June 1967-69		21		22	21	14	78
		26.9		28.2	26.9	17.9	100.0
		10.0		38.6	20.2	4.7	11.4
1970-74		46	1	8	8	43	106
		43.4	0.9	7.5	7.5	40.6	100.0
		22.0	5.6	14.0	7.7	14.6	15.5
1975-79		93	8	19	33	90	243
		38.3	3.3	7.8	13.6	37.0	100.0
		44.5	44.4	33.3	31.7	30.5	35.5
1980-84		34	7	5	18	92	156
		21.8	4.5	3.2	11.5	59.0	100.0
		16.3	38.9	8.8	17.3	31.2	22.8
1985 +		5	2	3	9	51	70
		7.1	2.9	4.3	12.9	72.9	100.0
		2.4	11.1	5.3	8.7	17.3	10.2
Total		209	18	57	104	295	683
		30.6	2.6	8.3	15.2	43.2	100.0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

with 93 emigrants leaving to obtain employment, due mainly to the increased demand for manual labourers in the Gulf states and Jordan. Thereafter, however, the number leaving to obtain employment fell to 34 between 1980-84 and to only 5 in the period from 1985 onwards. This is an obvious result of the economic difficulties in these areas; the reduction in oil price in the Gulf states and the impact of the Irani-Iraqi war on their economies led to these countries to cut quotas for foreign employees in new enterprises.

The decline in the percentage of emigrants who left to work abroad in the period 1975-79 (from 43.4% to 38.3%) may be explained, partly, by the increasing percentage of emigrants leaving for 'security reasons' and 'reunion permits' from 15% to 21.4% between these two periods, and also by the increasing number of students leaving to further their education.

9.4 Age-Sex Composition:

Figure 9.1 depects the age and sex structure of the emigrant population as recorded by the 1987 sample survey. Table 9.3 gives the data from which this diagram was constructed. In Table 9.4 emigrants are classified by District of origin and country of destination, cross-tabulated with age and sex. A variety of factors are responsible for the distorted age-sex structure displayed in Figure 9.1. These are the emigration of the economically active age groups, for various reasons; the following emigration of wives and children of married emigrants, and because of marriage and giving birth abroad.

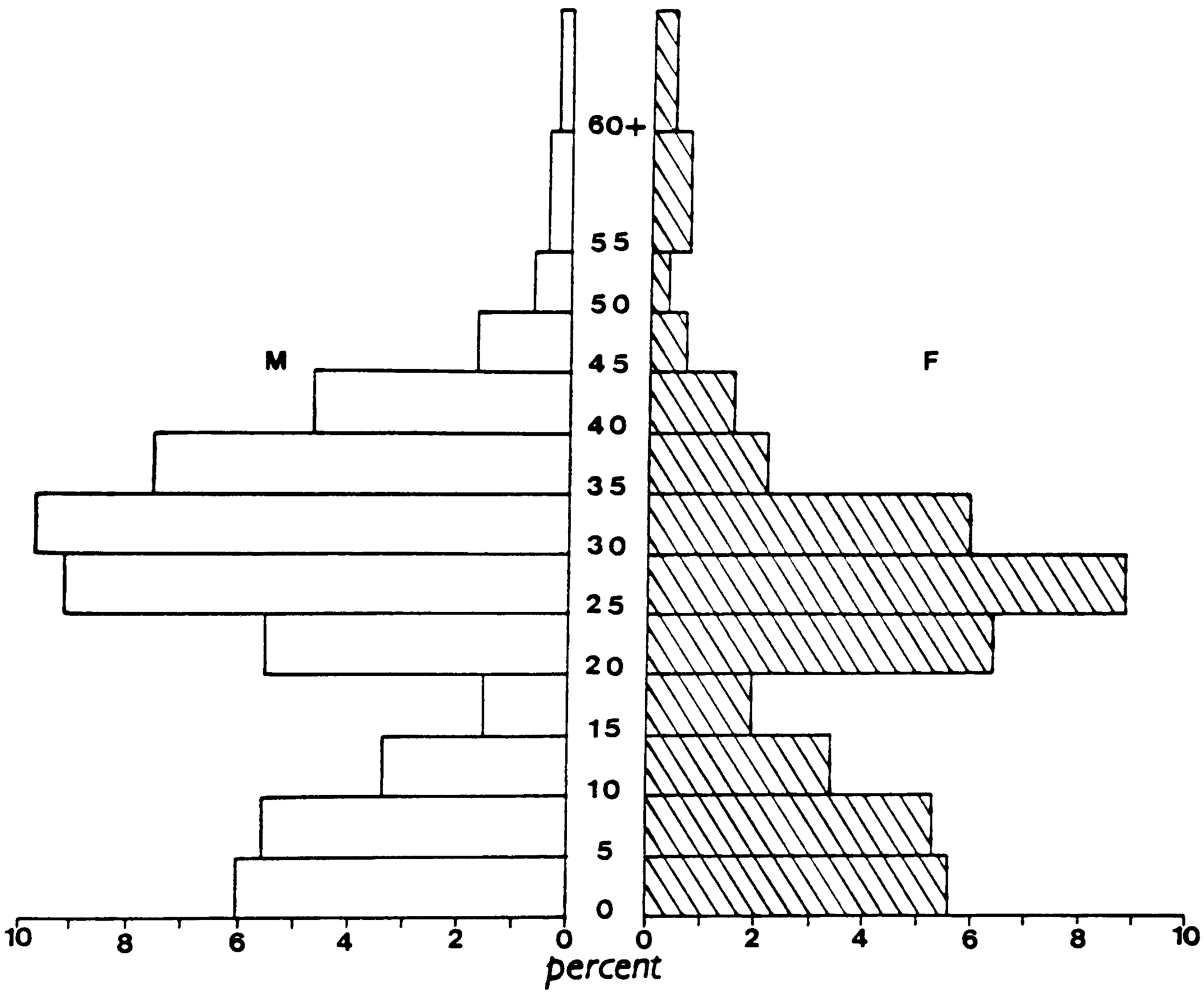
Figure 9.1 shows that 29.1% of all emigrants from the West Bank refugee camps were below the age of 15, due to the fact that emigration from these camps is largely familial, and also due to the high fertility among the refugee camps' population. The small proportion (0.7%) of emigrants aged 65 or more, is associated

Table 9.3
Age and Sex Distribution of Emigrants from Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Age group	Absolute Numbers			Percentages		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
0-4	79	41	38	11.6	10.6	12.8
5-9	74	38	36	10.8	9.8	12.1
10-14	46	23	23	6.7	6.0	7.7
15-19	24	11	13	3.5	2.8	4.4
20-24	82	38	44	12.0	9.8	14.8
25-29	124	63	61	18.2	16.3	20.5
30-34	107	66	41	15.7	17.1	13.8
35-39	67	52	15	9.8	13.5	5.1
40-44	43	32	11	6.3	8.3	3.7
45-49	17	12	5	2.5	3.1	1.7
50-54	7	5	2	1.0	1.3	0.7
55-59	5	2	3	0.7	0.5	1.0
60-64	3	1	2	0.4	0.3	0.7
65+	5	2	3	0.7	0.5	1.0
Total	683	386	297	100	100	100
	100	56.5	43.5			

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Fig 9.1 Age-Sex Composition of the Emigrants from Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.



Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

both with the high mortality rate for that age group, and the phenomenon of return migration. The majority of former migrants in this age group had returned to the West Bank on retirement. Thus, 70.2% of all emigrants are included in the adult age group 15-64 years, that is the working age group.

Nearly two-thirds (62%) of all emigrants are aged 20-44. This significant proportion (88.3% of the working age group) is largely related to the fact that most of these emigrants (96%) had completed their education or had left schools, and lacked opportunities to find job in the West Bank. Not surprisingly, about 59.3% of emigrants aged 20-44 are males, giving a sex ratio of 149, and reflecting the impact of the sex-selective emigration on this age group. The significantly low sex ratio (96.2) of emigrants aged 20-29, is likely to have occured due to the Israeli restriction on the emigration of males below the age of 26. It may be explained, partly, by the emigration of females who were engaged to males living abroad, and also it may be related to early marriage of the females.

The sex-ratio of emigrants from refugee camps of the West Bank reached 129.97 males per 100 females, indicating a greater emigration of males than females.

There are considerable differences between the various age groups. It reached 105.2 in the 0-14 years age group due mainly to masculinity of birth and the greater care given to male children. For emigrants aged 15-29, this ratio declined to 94.9 due mainly to the emigration of females following their husbands and because of the Israeli restrictions mentioned above. It rose to 225 in the age groups 30-49 years, declined thereafter to 114.3 and 66.7 in the age groups 50-64 and 65 and over, respectively. The higher sex-ratio in the age groups of 30-49 years is influenced mainly by the emigration of males, for various reasons, more than females. Above the age of 50, the lower sex-ratio is explained by the return of males to the West Bank after a period of living abroad, and by the fact that aged females may visit

their sons/daughters living abroad for a short or long period in a year.

9.4.1 Variations by Place of Origin:

Table 9.4 shows the differences between the three Districts in the age structure of their refugee camps' emigrants. Although the differences are small, some significant contrasts may be observed. In all three Districts, the great majority of emigrants are aged 15-64; this proportion was higher among emigrants from the Hebron camps (71.7%), followed by Nablus (71.3%), while the lowest (67.2%) was recorded for emigrants from Jerusalem. These figures, together with the higher proportion of emigrants aged below 15 from the Jerusalem District (31.3 compared to 28.3% from the other two Districts), indicating a more familial emigration from the Jerusalem camps. Above the age of 50, however, the highest proportion was among emigrants from the Jerusalem camps (4.1%), while the lowest (1.7%) was from Hebron, indicating that the emigration stream was mainly from the Jerusalem and Nablus camps in the early stages, and seem to suggest that more emigrants from the Hebron and Nablus camps return to the West Bank than do emigrants from the Jerusalem camps.

Table 9.4 shows also differences in the sex-ratio of emigrants from refugee camps of the West Bank: 134.94 for emigrants from the Jerusalem District; 128.88 and 122.22 for emigrants from the Nablus and Hebron camps, respectively. These differences may be explained by the higher percentage of the young age groups (31.3%) which emigrated from the Jerusalem camps, as compared with 28.3% from the Nablus and Hebron camps, and by the higher emigration of females from the refugee camps of Hebron and Nablus than from the Jerusalem camps.

9.4.2 Variations by Place of Residence:

Table 9.4 also shows the differences in the age structure of emigrants from the West Bank camps residing in various countries. While the working age groups

Table 9.4
Age and Sex Distribution of Emigrants from Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987. by Place of Origin &Destination Areas. (percentages)

Age group	Place of Origin			Place of Residence				Total
	Nablus camps	Jerusalem camps	Hebron camps	Jordan	Arab Gulf States	Other Arab Countries	Non Arab countries	
0-14	28.3	31.3	28.3	32.9	30.1	13.3	8.3	29.1
15-29	34.6	31.8	33.3	30.0	34.3	51.1	38.9	33.7
30-49	34.6	32.8	36.7	33.2	34.0	35.6	44.4	34.3
50-64	2.1	2.6	1.7	2.2	1.6		8.4	2.2
65+	0.5	1.5		1.6				0.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sex-ratio	128.8	134.9	122.2	107.3	155.7	73.1	414.2	129.9

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

constituted 65.4 and 69.9% of all emigrants from these camps to Jordan and the Gulf states, those aged below 15 make up a further 32.9 and 30.1% in these two areas respectively, showing that Jordan, followed by the Gulf states, received more familial emigration from these camps than the other countries.

The distribution of the age groups in the other Arab and the non Arab countries shows greater differences than in the first two regions. The adults age groups represent 86.7%, and 91.7% of the emigrants from refugee camps in the other Arab and the non Arab countries, while the young age groups were only 13.3%, and 8.3% in these two regions, respectively. It is known that emigrants from refugee camps of the West Bank who travel to the non Arab countries, prefer to leave their wives/children within the same community, for cultural and economic reasons.

The highest sex-ratio is to be found among emigrants living in non Arab countries (414.29), while it was 155.75 in the Gulf states; 107.28 in Jordan, and reached its lowest point, 73.08, in the other Arab countries. These figures indicate the preference for emigration as single men to non Arab countries for reasons mentioned above, while it indicates the emigration of females to the Arab countries for marriage, in particular

9.5 Marital Status:

Of the 484 emigrants aged 15 or over in the sample, 77.1% were married; 22.7% single, and only 0.2% widowed. Many male emigrants marry only after they are settled in work and after they are able to do so economically, and this is the most influential factors in delaying the age of marriage for males to 25.3 years and for females to 21 years. 26.4% of male emigrants aged 15 years and over had never married, as against 17.5% of the females.

As Table 9.5 shows, the percentage of emigrants who are married rises

with increasing age. About 43.4% of emigrants aged 15-24 were married, some 82.6% of them females; 80.5% of emigrants aged 25-34 were married, some 47.3% of them females. All emigrants aged 45 and over were married about 40.7% of them females i.e there were no single people over the age of 45 in the emigrants. The better economic possibilities of emigrants working abroad, and the necessity for emigrants to feel settled in the new societies, are the most influential factors in producing 100% marriage by the age of 45 years. The early marriage of females may explain the higher proportion of females married within the 15-24 year age group. Above the age of 45, the lower proportion of females married may be explained by the fact that many male emigrants leave their wives behind in the West Bank.

Table 9.6 shows that, within the various destination areas, the highest percentage of married people varies between 79.2% in the Gulf states to 60.1% in the non Arab countries. The particularly high proportion of single emigrants in non Arab countries may be explained by the emigration of students there. They represent about 27.3% of emigrants aged 15 years and over.

9.5.1 Marital Status and Education:

Table 9.7 shows the relationship between the marital status of emigrants aged 15 or over and their level of education. Not suprisingly, the proportion single rises gradually with level of education, from 0.9% at the elementary level to 33.6% at the university level; none was single among the illiterate -aged emigrants-.

In addition to the influence of the higher proportion of emigrants within the elementary, preparatory, and secondary levels, it is known that higher education requires more years of studying, and additional years for seeking work after that to be ready economically, for marriage, especially in Arab societies where only males are required to provide money. The relative ease with which old emigrants of low

Table 9.5
Married Emigrants from
Refugee Camps-West Bank
Current Age by Sex, 1987

Age group		Total	Male	Female
15-24	No.	46	8	38
	%	43.4	16.3	66.7
25-34		186	98	88
		80.5	76.0	86.3
35-44		105	81	24
		95.5	96.4	92.3
45+		37	22	15
		100.0	100.0	100.0
Total		374	209	165
		100.0	55.9	44.1

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 9.6
Married Emigrants from
Refugee Camps-West Bank
Place of Residence by Sex, 1987

Place of Residence		Total	Male	female
Jordan	No.	165	80	85
	%	78.6	74.1	83.3
Arab Gulf states		160	106	54
		79.2	80.3	77.1
Other Arab countries		29	9	20
		74.4	52.9	90.9
Non Arab countries		20	14	6
		60.1	51.9	100.0
Total		374	209	165
		100.0	55.9	44.1

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

education levels can obtain employment abroad in the early 1960s and 1970s, compared to the limited opportunities for young-recently graduated persons with higher qualifications in the 1980s, particularly in the Gulf states, account for the fact that below the secondary level education, the proportion married was significantly higher than that of the singles, whereas above this level the reverse is true.

Table 9.7

Marital Status of Emigrants

Aged 15 and Over

by Educational Level,1987

Educational Level		Illi.	Elem.	Prep.	Seco.	Inst.	Univ.	Total
Single	No.		1	22	22	28	37	110
	%		0.9	20.0	20.0	25.5	33.6	100.0
Married		28	37	93	71	86	59	374
		7.5	9.9	24.9	19.0	22.0	15.8	100.0
Total		28	38	115	93	114	96	484
		5.8	7.8	23.8	19.2	23.6	19.8	100.0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

9.5.2 Source of Partners:

In regard to the source of partners, the 1987 survey results show that 88.8% of married emigrants can be described as Palestinians. 46.3% are married to relatives, 20.6% to others from the same camp, 18.2% to inhabitants of other parts of the West Bank, and 4.3% to partners from the Gaza strip and other parts of pre-1948 Palestine. A further 8.8% are married to partners from the Arab countries; 13.9% of males as against 2.4% in the case of the females. The remainder 1.9% are males married in non

Arab countries. The lower percentage of non Arab females married to Palestinians, as compared with the Arab females, may be explained by the lower proportion of emigrants from refugee camps to these countries, and also may be related to the variation in cultural pattern followed by differences in traditions and habits which may influence the acceptance of marriage as an idea for both of them.

The 1987 survey shows that 96.7% of emigrant husbands have one wife in his bond of marriage, while the rest 3.3% have two. About 97.1% of married emigrants have married once, while 2.9% have married twice. The latter is higher within males (4.3%) than for females (1.2%). This likely to be due to the social concepts about marriage of males, in addition to the fact that the males have the 'right' to decide.

About 29.7% of married female emigrants had been married for less than five years, at the time of the 1987 survey; 27.9% for 5-9 years; 15.8% for 10-14 years, and 12.7% for 15-19 years, while the percentage declined rapidly after that to reach 2.1% for females married for 30 years or more. This reflects the age composition of the refugee camps' emigrants, and the fact that the large proportion of emigrants are of working age.

9.6 Economic Composition:

Of the several factors responsible for emigration from the West Bank refugee camps to neighbouring countries and further afield, the most important has been the search for work resulting from inadequate employment opportunities in the West Bank in general and the refugee camps in particular. Political factors have affected the scale of movement. Prior to 1967, when the West Bank was part of the kingdom of Jordan, there was little control over movement between the two sections; since 1967, regulations introduced by the Israeli authorities have prevented certain categories of emigrants from returning (see p. 182; 37.6% of the emigrants recorded

in the survey had no 'right' of return to the West Bank).

Table 9.8 shows the employment status of the 683 emigrants recorded in the survey. As the Table shows, persons in the working age group (15-64) constituted 70.1% of the total. Of these, nearly two-thirds (44.2% of all emigrants) were actually employed, the remainder being either students or housewives. Not surprisingly, there were significant differences between the two sexes, reflecting the persistance of traditional attitudes towards the employment of women. Whereas 91.1% of all working-age males were in employment (the remainder were all described as students and no other unemployed male was reported), less than a quarter (22.8%) of the working-age females were employed, and 72.1% were reported as 'housewives' doing no paid work outside the home. Thus, while males constituted 58.9% of all working-age emigrants, they accounted for no less than 85.1% of those actually employed.

9.6.1 Variations by Place of Residence:

There are significant differences in these measures between the various destination areas (Table 9.9). Emigrants in the working-age group constituted 65.5% of all emigrants in Jordan; some 70% in the Gulf states, 86.7% in other Arab countries and 91.7% in the non Arab countries. The relatively low proportion in Jordan and in the Gulf states is largely related to the more familial emigration to these two areas compared with the other two. In the latter, the higher proportion in the working-age group is likely to be due to the higher proportion of single employed and students (together these two categories constituted 80.6%).

Both the individual emigrants' circumstances and the employment opportunities offered differ among the various destination areas. The proportion of emigrants above the age of 15 who were actually employmed was highest in the Gulf states (76.6%), reflecting the fact that visas are given only to those who already have

Table 9.8
Employment Status of Emigrants Aged 15-64 by Sex

Sex		Emigrants Aged 15-64				All
		Employed	Student	Housewife	Total	Emigrants
Male	No.	257	25		282	386
	% of all emigrants	66.6	6.5		73.1	
	% of working age	91.1	8.9			
	% of total	85.1	71.4		58.9	56.5
Female		45	10	142	197	297
		15.1	3.4	47.8	66.3	
		22.8	5.1	72.1		
		14.9	28.6	100.0	41.1	43.5
Total		302	35	142	479	683
		44.2	5.1	20.8	70.1	100.0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 9.9
Employment Status of Emigrants Aged 15-64 by Place of Residence

Place of Residence		Emigrants Aged 15-64				All Emigrants
		Employed	Student	Housewife	Total	
Jordan	No.	112	14	79	205	313
	% of all emigrants	35.8	4.5	25.2	65.5	
	% of working age	54.6	6.8	38.5		
	% of total	37.1	40.0	55.6	42.8	45.8
Arab Gulf States		155	6	41	202	289
		53.6	2.1	14.2	69.9	
		76.7	2.9	20.3		
		51.3	17.1	28.9	42.2	42.3
Other Arab Countries		15	6	18	39	45
		33.3	13.3	40.0	86.7	
		38.5	15.4	46.1		
		5.0	17.1	12.7	8.1	6.6
Non Arab Countries		20	9	4	33	36
		55.6	25.0	11.1	91.7	
		60.6	27.3	12.1		
		6.6	25.7	2.8	6.9	5.3
Total		302	35	142	479	683
		44.2	5.1	20.8	70.1	100.0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

jobs; it was also high (60.6%) in non-Arab countries, but significantly lower in Jordan (54.6%) and other Arab countries (38.5%). Of those not in employment, being either students or housewives, 52.5% were in Jordan and 26.6% in the Gulf states.

Nearly 90% of employed emigrants are now found in two main areas, the Gulf states (51.3%) and Jordan (37.1%), marking these out as the prime source of employment for emigrants from the West Bank, as for the Palestinians as a whole.

Few emigrants from the West Bank camps have any significant amount of capital, a fact which, along with regulations in the receiving areas, such as those applied to the operation of trades in the Gulf states, prevents most of them from establishing their own businesses. Thus 87.7% of the employed migrants in the sample were hired workers, 11.6% were self-employed with no employees and a mere 0.7% actually hired one or more workers. About two-thirds of the employed emigrants held permanent jobs, the rest worked only temporarily.

9.6.2 Occupational Structure of the Employed:

Table 9.10 shows the occupational structure of the emigrants as recorded by the 1987 survey. As the Table shows, more than four-fifth (81%) of the employed emigrants are concentrated in service activities. Of these, rather less than half (35.1% of the employed emigrants) are employed in professional, administrative and clerical activities, and nearly one-third are concentrated in other services; together they represent 68.2% of the total employed. Only very small numbers are employed within the other occupations, namely industry and agriculture. This is primarly due to the economic characteristics of the destination area particularly of the Arab countries, as well as to the economic chracteristics of the place of departure.

Table 9.10 shows that work in occupations such as construction, agriculture, industry, and transportation and storage is almost completely restricted to males

Table 9.10
Employed Emigrants from Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987. Occupation by Sex

Occupation		Total	Male	Female
Agriculture	No.	3	2	1
	% of total	1.0	0.8	2.2
Industry		12	11	1
		4.0	4.3	2.2
Construction		21	20	1
		7.0	7.8	2.2
Services		244	208	36
		80.8	80.9	80.0
Professional, Adm.&clerical		106	89	17
		35.1	34.6	37.8
Commerce		28	23	5
		9.3	8.9	11.1
Transportation & Storage		10	10	
		3.3	3.9	
others		100	86	14
		33.1	33.5	31.1
Unclassified		22	16	6
		7.3	6.2	13.3
Total		302	257	45
		100.0	85.1	14.9

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

(93.5%). This is likely to be present because of the lack of female ability for heavy works, on the one hand, and because of the higher proportion of employed females who obtained institute or university qualification (75.6% of all employed females), as compared with that of males (56.5%), on the other. In general, employed emigrants with these qualifications, as recorded in the 1987 sample survey, vary in distribution within occupations. 50.5% of them are employed in professional, administrative and clerical activities ; 30.9% in other services; 4.5% in commerce, while the rest are employed in the other occupations excluding agriculture. These figures indicate that there are some emigrants with these qualifications distributed in occupations not related to their specializations; it reveals one of the main features characterizing the economy of the Arab countries, and it also reveals how keen emigrants from refugee camps are for work.

A sizeable proportion of employed emigrants in the Gulf states (some 41%) are concentrated in professional, administrative and clerical activities; 46.7% of the employed emigrants in the other Arab countries are concentrated in other services; 45% of the employed emigrants in the non Arab countries are concentrated in commerce, while in Jordan they are distributed mainly within the other services (33.9%) and professional, administrative and clerical activities (29.5%).

64.6% of the employed emigrants with institute or university qualification are working in the Gulf states, while 24.7% are working in Jordan; 4.5% in the other Arab countries, and 6.2% in non Arab countries.

These figures may be explained, partly, by the variation in distribution of the employed emigrants within these countries, and together with the standards of living in these countries, by the differences in the monthly income of the employed emigrants. The mean monthly income varies from 152 J.D in Jordan to 255 J.D in the non Arab countries. It reached 178 J.D in the other Arab countries and 210 J.D

in the Gulf states, or some 190 J.D as an overall mean. The highest monthly incomes, as recorded in the 1987 survey, are for those who work in professional, administrative and clerical jobs (207 J.D); 205 J.D for an employed emigrant in construction; 202 J.D in commerce; 180 J.D in other services, while it was only 154 and 125 J.D for an employed emigrant in industry and agriculture, respectively.

Many of the emigrants from refugee camps are unskilled workers or have not gained higher qualifications required for higher incomes, where 41.1% of the employed emigrants are of secondary educational level or less. The lower levels of monthly income recorded in the 1987 survey, are for those illiterates (75 J.D), followed by those of schooling levels -secondary, preparatory and elementary- of about 165 J.D, and some 180 J.D for those with institute qualifications, this rises to 249 J.D for those with university qualifications.

These situation of employed emigrants reveals the facts related to the conditions in refugee camps of the West Bank mentioned earlier: the poor economic conditions and the educational services provided by UNRWA, in particular, and the economic conditions in the West Bank it self, which do not allow them to obtain skills recomended for jobs abroad. It is also affected by the work opportunities offered abroad.

9.7 Educational Status:

The 1987 sample survey recorded that 15.8% of the emigrants from refugee camps of the West Bank are less than six years old, the age at which school attendance begins. A further 18.7% were enrolled in education at the time of the survey; thus rather more than one-third of all emigrants (34.5%) are enrolled or may be expected to be enrolled in the near future.

Table 9.11 shows the educational attainment of all emigrants aged six

or over. As the Table shows, 58.6% are of elementary, preparatory and secondary levels, while 36.5% are of institute or university level (6.3% of those who obtained this qualification or some 26% of the females are housewives), and only 4.9% are illiterate. The lower percentage of illiterate emigrants may be explained by the lower proportion of aged emigrants, on the one hand, and by the preference of countries for emigrants who have reached higher educational levels, on the other. The higher percentage of emigrants of schooling levels may be explained by the free education provided in the place of destination under better conditions as compared with refugee camps in the West Bank, and the children of schooling age accompany their fathers.

The data also show that illiteracy among female emigrants is higher than it is among males by three times. It is known that parents, in Palestinian society as a whole, prefer male education rather than female, as males are considered to be the responsible proportion of population, particularly economically. i.e they prepare males to carry their responsibilities in the future, whether for themselves; wives and children, or for their parents in their advanced age.

The higher percentage of females with elementary level education only (25.7%) may be explained by the early removal of females from schools, where the proportion of females drops with the increase in educational levels, mostly due to marriage and the social concept which limit the education of females up to secondary level. Only 4.9% are included in university level education.

Male emigrants are characterized by high educational levels. There is a higher proportion of males within the university level, 25.5%, while the proportion within the elementary level is about 15.8%. This does not include the male drop within the secondary level, which is likely to be present because of the Israeli restriction on movement of emigrants aged 15-19 years (3.5% of all emigrants), and also may be related to the economic conditions of emigrants in the place of departure,

Table 9.11
Educational Level of Emigrants
Aged 6 Years and Over
by Sex, 1987

Level of Education		Total	Male	Female
Illiterate	No.	28	6	22
	% of total	4.9	1.8	8.9
Elementary		115	52	63
		20.0	15.8	25.7
Preparatory		129	73	56
		22.4	22.1	22.9
Secondary		93	39	54
		16.2	11.8	22.0
Institute		114	76	38
		19.8	23.0	15.5
University		96	84	12
		16.7	25.5	6.1
Total		575	330	245
		100.0	57.4	42.6

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

which compelled them to leave schools inorder to work at an early age.

9.7.1 Variations by Place of Residence:

Table 9.12 shows contrasts in the educational attainment of the emigrants living in the various destination areas. It shows that Jordan seem to be a place of residence of emigrants who are illiterate (9% of emigrants residing there), while the non Arab countries and Gulf states received mainly emigrants with higher levels (48.8% in the Gulf states and 63.6% in the non Arab countries). It has been noted earlier that the higher educational levels in these two regions are directly related to the work's conditions in the first region and to the high percentages of students of these levels in non Arab countries.

9.7.2 Characteristics of Graduates:

Place and date of graduation and area of specialization were, of course, among the characteristics recorded by the 1987 survey for the 190 graduates who have already obtained higher qualification; the results are given in Table 9.13. As the Table shows, nearly two-thirds graduated from institute or universities of the West Bank (34.2%) and Jordan (30%), some 8% from Lebanon, while the residue (27.9%) graduated from other countries.

The higher participation of the West Bank institute and universities may be related to the low costs of education when living with relatives, which may also explain the situation in Jordan where many of the students lived with their relatives who were residing in Jordan. Education in non Arab countries is much more expensive and is not possible for most refugee students. However, this percentage in the non Arab countries may be explained by scholarships provided by UNRWA, or by the marriage of Palestinians to non Arab females who then obtained these qualifications. Regulations of studying in Lebanon universities -part time- which do not require the

Table 9.12
Educational Level of Emigrants
Aged 6 Years and Over
by Place of Residence. 1987

Level of Education		Total	Jordan	Arab Gulf States	Other Arab Countries	Non Arab Countries
Illiterate	No.	28	23	3	1	1
	% of total	4.9	9.0	1.2	2.4	3.0
Elementary		115	61	43	6	5
		20.0	23.8	17.6	14.3	15.2
Preparatory		129	74	42	10	3
		22.4	28.9	17.2	23.8	9.1
Secondary		93	43	37	10	3
		16.2	16.8	15.2	23.8	9.1
Institute		114	32	74	5	3
		19.8	12.5	30.3	11.9	9.1
University		96	23	45	10	18
		16.7	9.0	18.4	23.8	54.5
Total		575	256	244	42	33
		100.0	44.5	42.4	7.3	5.8

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

living in Lebanon and thus reduce the education costs, may be consider of great important in Lebanon participation.

Table 9.13 also shows that only 1.6% of the emigrants were graduates in the period before 1965, when educational attainment was lower in general, and limited mainly because of the poor economic conditions in refugee camps. After that, and as a result of the establishment of many institutes and universities in the West Bank in the late 1970s and thereafter, and as a result of employment of many of the refugee camps' population in Israel after July 1968, the proportion of emigrants with these qualifications increased to 34.2% in the period 1975-79, and to 34.7% in the period 1980-84. In these two periods, there was a large emigration from refugee camps of the West Bank representing 58.4% of all emigrants.

The period before 1965 is characterized by the restriction of higher education to males only, while the proportion of females experiencing higher education increased steadly thereafter, from 2.2% in the period 1965-69, to 50.0% in the period 1980-84. These figures seem to suggest that the refugee camps' population, recently, has no objection to females continuing their higher education, particularly if this could happen within the West Bank. However, these differences are more reliably attributable to economic factors rather than any other factors.

The males are more evenly distributed throughout areas of specialization, but most of the females specialized in natural sciences and humanities (63%) allawing them to work mainly as teachers; some 11% in the area of business studies, and less than 4.5% of them specialized in the areas of medicine and engineering. These figures are highly attributable to the varying demand in these destination countries.

Table 9.13
Emigrants Graduated from Institute or University
Sex by Specialization, Place and Date of Graduation, 1987

Sex		Total	Area of Specialization				Place of Graduation					Date of Graduation					
			Medical& Engineering	Business	Natural Sc. &Humanities	other	West Bank	Jordan	Lebanon	Other Arab C.	Non Arab C.	before 1965	1965-69	1970-74	1975-79	1980-84	1985+
Male	No.	144	30	29	63	22	48	40	13	27	16	3	10	18	57	43	13
	%	75.8	20.8	20.1	43.8	15.3	33.3	27.8	9.0	18.8	11.1	2.1	6.9	12.5	39.6	29.9	9.0
Female		46	2	5	29	10	17	17	2	8	2		1	6	8	23	8
		24.2	4.3	10.9	63.0	21.7	37.0	37.0	4.3	17.4	4.3		2.2	13.0	17.4	50.0	17.4
Total		190	32	34	92	32	65	57	15	35	18	3	11	24	65	66	21
		100.0	16.8	17.9	48.4	16.8	34.2	30.0	7.9	18.4	9.5	1.6	5.8	12.6	34.2	34.7	11.1

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

9.8 Summary:

All in all, the above discussion about emigration from refugee camps of the West Bank, shows that it is largely a familial emigration, although there is a selective emigration of educated males of working age, most of them are employed in services.

Due to the political circumstances prevailing in the West Bank after the year 1967, and the Israeli regulations thereafter, we can note that a large part of emigration from refugee camps of the West Bank is a forced emigration in the sense that 37.6% of the emigrants have no 'right' to return to the occupied West Bank according to the Israeli use of the term 'right'.

And in general, it is characterized by the limited movement of the emigrants: they usually moved from these camps directly to the place of destination. Because of the cultural factors, and because of the emigrants characteristics, they moved for a short distance: they are mainly residing in Jordan and the Gulf states, and many of them do not stay abroad for a long time.

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CHAPTER TEN

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE REFUGEE CAMPS POPULATION

10.1 Age Composition:

The basic characteristics of any demographic group are age and sex. The age and sex distribution of a population seriously affect birth rates, marital status, death rates, the economic composition, required educational and medical facilities, and so on.

Attention has already been drawn (Chapter 7) to the inaccurancies of UNRWA registration records which are affected both by under-reporting of births and deaths and by false and duplicate registrations; data from this source are likely to produce a distorted picture of the age and sex composition of the Palestinian refugee population. The most accurate, but now very dated, source is the Israeli census of 1967, carried out in the West Bank immediately after the war. This provides information on the age and sex of 'refugees' residing in the camps of the West Bank (but excludes non-refugees living there) but there are of course problems in connection with the different definition of the word 'refugee' as defined by UNRWA and the Israelis respectively. Age and sex were, of course, among the characteristics recorded for the 5,151 individuals during the 1987 survey; the results are given in Table 10.1 and Figure 10.1.

10.1.1 1987:

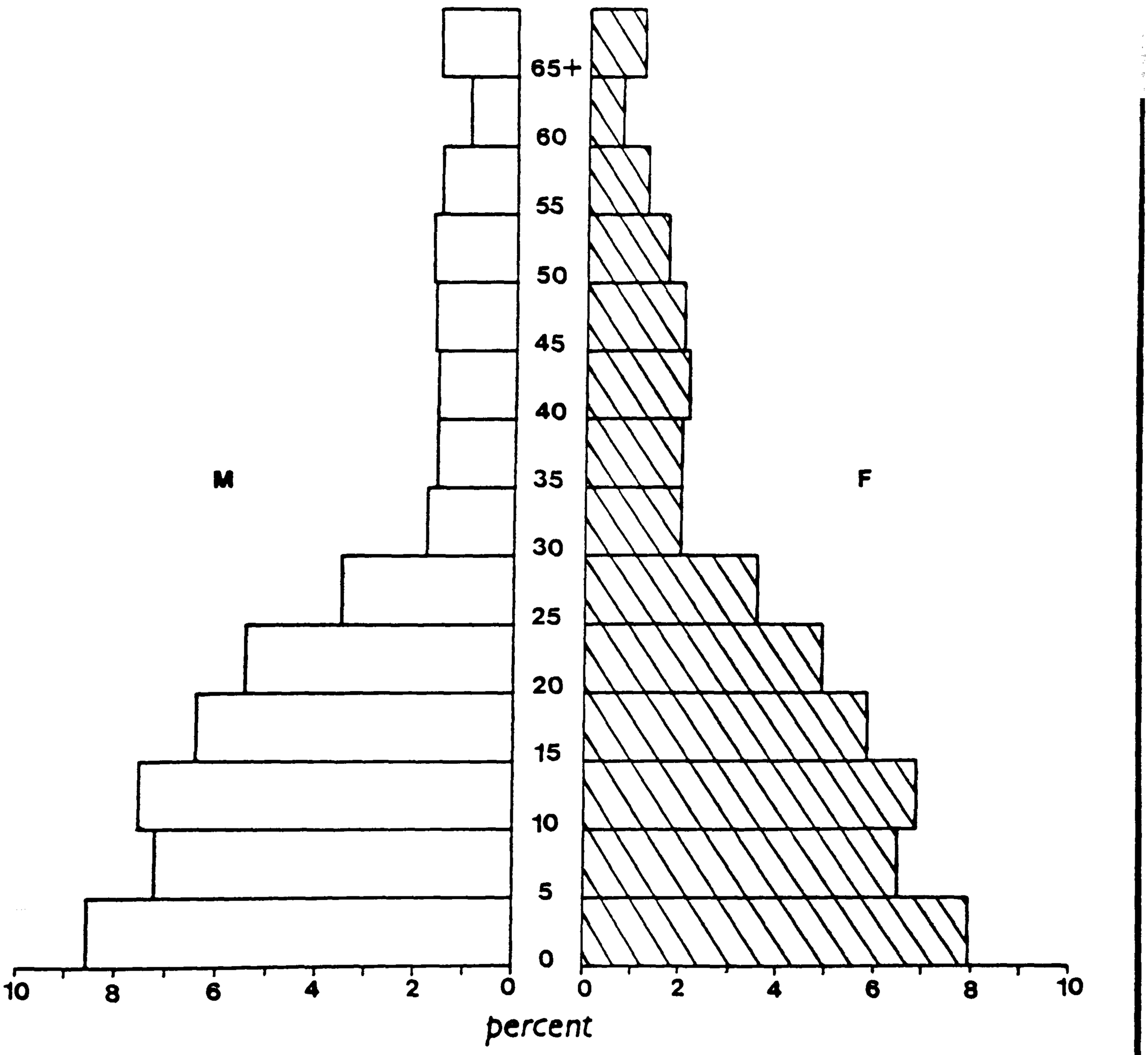
The age-sex pyramid is clearly that of a very youthful population and no less than 44.7% of the inhabitants of the refugee camps on the West Bank were below the age of 15, a reflection of the high fertility indicated by a CBR of 47.17 per

Table 10.1
Age and Sex Distribution of Refugee Camps' Population
West Bank, 1987

Age group	Absolute Numbers			Percentages			Sex
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	ratio
0-4	851	443	408	16.5	16.7	16.3	108.5
5-9	705	372	333	13.7	14.1	13.3	111.7
10-14	746	391	355	14.5	14.8	14.2	110.1
15-19	643	340	303	12.5	12.9	12.1	112.2
20-24	537	283	254	10.4	10.7	10.1	111.4
25-29	364	181	183	7.1	6.8	7.3	98.9
30-34	194	91	103	3.8	3.4	4.1	88.3
35-39	183	81	102	3.6	3.1	4.1	79.4
40-44	192	82	110	3.7	3.1	4.4	74.5
45-49	189	84	105	3.7	3.2	4.2	80.0
50-54	175	87	88	3.4	3.3	3.5	98.8
55-59	146	80	66	2.8	3.0	2.6	121.2
60-64	84	48	36	1.6	1.8	1.4	133.3
65+	142	82	60	2.8	3.1	2.4	136.7
Total	5151	2645	2506	100	100	100	105.5
	100	51.3	48.7				

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Fig 10.1 Age-Sex Composition of the Refugee Camps' Population - West Bank, 1987.



Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

thousand in 1987. The age group 10-14 is significantly larger than the previous group (5-9) indicating that fertility in the mid 1970s was above that of the early 1980s (see Chapter 2).

In the West Bank, this higher fertility rate may be related to the reduction of net migration from the West Bank as a whole in the year 1973, because of the Arab-Israeli war in the Middle East. Israeli figures for the migration balance in 1973 indicate the only net gain (about 0.3%) during the period 1970-84; this may be compared with a net loss of 17.3% in 1980, for example (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985). It may also be related to the increase in income due to emigration and working abroad in the mid 1970s, which in turn allowed persons to marry.

While age group 0-14 constitutes 44.7% of the total refugee camps population, those aged 15-29 make up a further 30%, so that practically three-quarters of the total are less than 30 years old. The high proportion of 15-29 year olds may be related to a number of factors. The most important is likely to be the establishment of many institutes and universities in the West Bank after 1967, which provided possibilities for students to continue their higher education within the West Bank rather than seeking it elsewhere. This is, of course, in addition to the effect of the economic situation prevailing in the Gulf states which has played a role in reducing the number of emigrants from refugee camps of the West Bank since the early 1980s. In addition, the Israeli regulations, preventing people below the age of 26 from returning to the West Bank before spending 9 months abroad, resulted in a reduction in the emigration of members of these age groups.

The small size of age group 30-49, which constitutes only 14.7% of the total, is largely related to emigration by those cohorts. As a result, the proportion of males is low (44.6%). As shown in chapter 9, a high proportion of emigrants are derived from these age groups.

A further 7.8% of the refugee camps' population is aged 50-64, giving a total of 52.5% in the working age groups 15-64. Of the 50-64 year olds, some 53% are males, an indication of significant return migration among these cohorts. Finally, 2.8% of the total are aged 65 or more. The small number in this age group reflects overall high mortality; the male dominance is influenced by return migration and possibly also by the absence of aged females visiting their relatives abroad at the time of the survey.

10.1.2 West Bank, Syria and Gaza:

The population of the West Bank refugee camps is clearly very youthful. The age index (65 and over/0-14) is only 6.17%. Similarly youthful age structures are indicated by other studies carried out in the Palestinian refugee camps of Syria and Gaza (Table 10.2). There are differences in the proportions of children which suggest that fertility is significantly higher in the Gaza Strip than in the West Bank (see also Chapter 7).

Table 10.2

Age Composition of the Refugee Camps' Population-West Bank, Syria, and Gaza,

Age group	West Bank (1)	Syria (2)	Gaza (3)
0-14	44.7	44.5	48.2
15-64	52.5	52.5	49.3
65+	2.8	3.0	2.5
Total	100	100	100
Age Index	6.17	6.74	5.19

Sources:
(1) The 1987 Sample Survey.
(2) PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986.
(3) Dahlan, 1987.

10.1.3 Comparisons, 1967 and 1987:

A comparison of the data derived from the 1967 Israeli Census with those recorded in the 1987 survey (Table 10.3 and Figure 10.2) reveals significant changes in age structure. According to the 1967 census, 49.9% of the 'refugees' were below the age of 15, compared to 44.7% of the inhabitants in 1987, suggesting higher fertility rates 20 years ago. The child-woman ratio, for example, was about 1011.8 in 1967 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967) as compared with 733.6 in the 1987 sample survey.

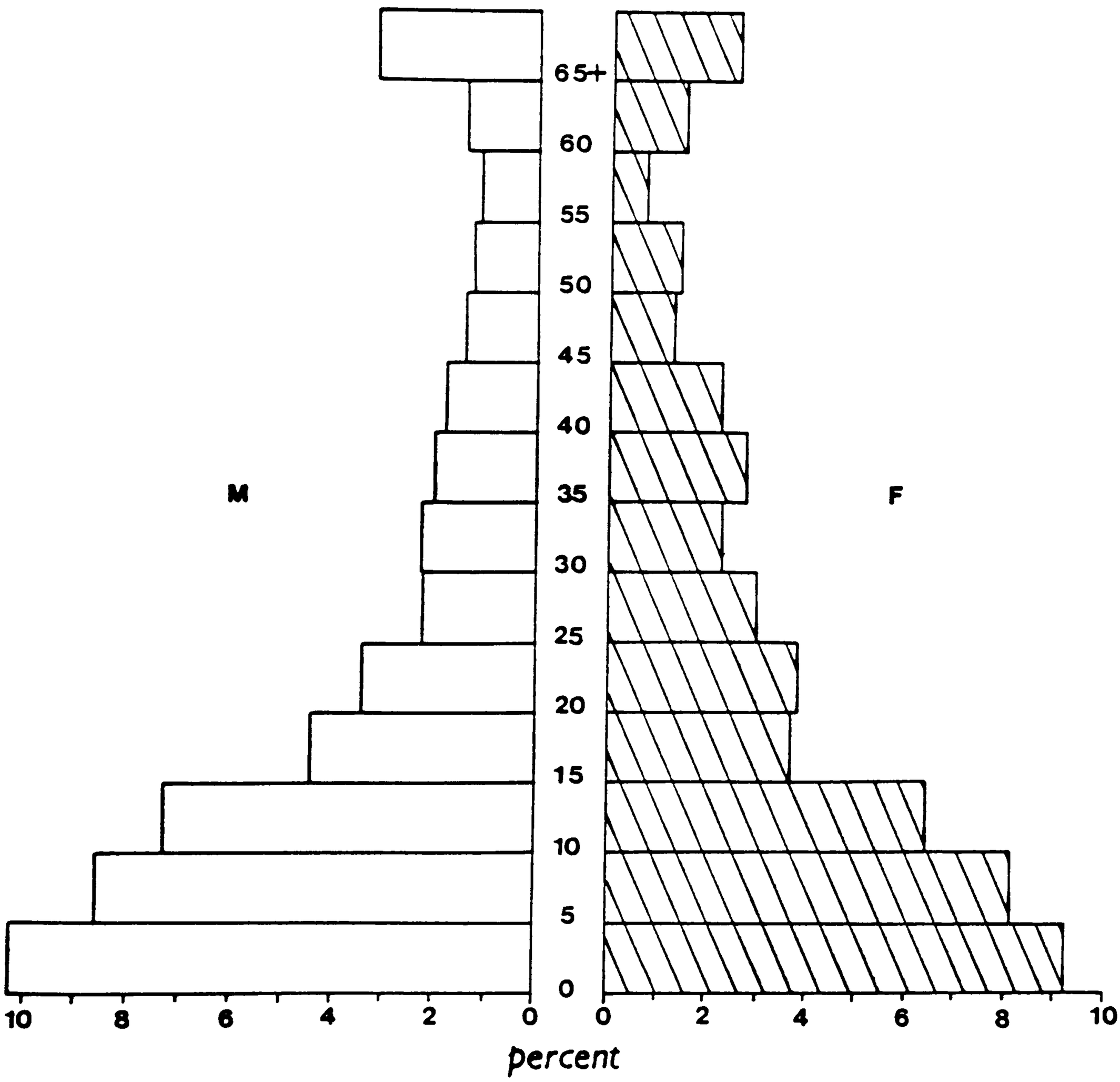
Table 10.3

Distribution of the Refugee Camps' Population-West Bank, by Broad Age Groups. 1967&1987.

Age group	1967 (1)	1987 (2)
0-14	49.9	44.7
15-29	20.6	30.0
30-49	16.1	14.7
50-64	7.6	7.8
65+	5.8	2.8
Total	100	100

Sources:
(1) Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
(2) The 1987 Sample Survey.

Fig 10.2 Age_Sex Composition of Refugees in Camps of the West Bank, 1967.



Source of Data: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.

The apparent large increase in the proportion aged 15-29, from 20.6 to 30%, may be attributed first, to the comulative fertility rates over the past 20 years; secondly, it may be due to the Israeli restrictions on the emigration of persons below the age of 26; and thirdly, it may be due to the establishment of many institutes and universities in the West Bank after 1967, all of which leading to an increase in the proportion of young adults. In the year 1967, however, the lower percentage of this age group seems to suggest that a large-scale emigration may have occured by those cohorts.

While the lower proportion (14.8%) of the age group 30-49 in 1987, as compared with 16.1% in 1967, is largely related to emigration of these people for various reasons, the slight increase in the proportion aged 50-64 is influenced by the return migration.

The higher percentage of aged persons (65+) in 1967 as compared with 2.8% in 1987 may be related, partly, to exaggeration of age, by males in particular for fear of expulsion in early stage of the occupation; as mentioned above, the Israeli 1967 census of population was carried out in the West Bank immediately after the war. Age was probably stated more accurately in 1987, while the survey also revealed a number of elderly people visiting relatives at the time of the survey.

10.1.4 Variations by District:

The 1987 sample survey revealed significant differences between the three Districts as regards the age structure of their refugee camp populations. As Table 10.4 and Figure 10.3 show, in all three Districts, the largest proportion were below the age of 15; the highest (47.1%) was in the Jerusalem camps, while the lowest (43.5%) was in Nablus. The differences in fertility, mortality and migration rates of the three Districts have played an important role in producing these differences.

Table 10.4

Distribution of the Refugee Camps' Population - West Bank,1987.by Age Groups, and District. *percentages*

Age group	Nablus	Jerusalem	Hebron
0-14	43.5	47.1	44.2
15-29	30.7	29.2	28.2
30-49	14.5	15.2	14.5
50-64	8.5	6.1	9.1
65+	2.8	2.4	4.0
Total	100	100	100
Age Index	6.33	4.97	9.05

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

The data also show that the proportion aged 10-14 was only 12.6% in the Hebron camps indicating that there was probably a higher childhood mortality in Hebron or a lower fertility rate 10-14 years ago, and probably that the latter was higher in Jerusalem camps where this proportion is highest at 15.8%. Thus, the age-sex pyramids of Nablus and Jerusalem camps indicate fluctuating fertility rates in the last 15 years, while that of Hebron camps shows a continuously rising pattern.

Variations between Districts in the proportions aged 0-14 and 65 and over produce small differences in the proportions within the working age groups 15-64. This proportion is highest (53.7%) in the Nablus camps, where the proportion of chil-

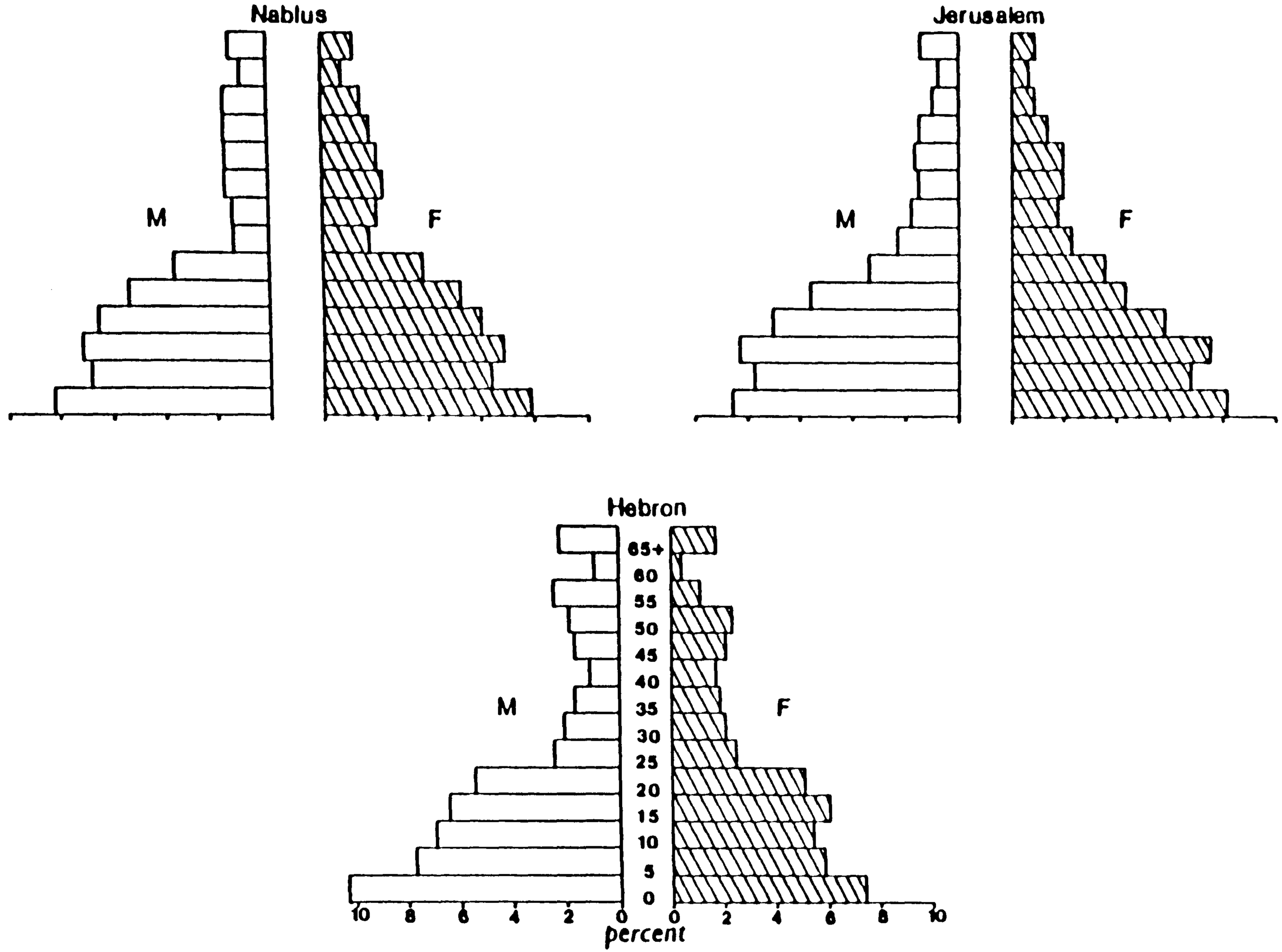


Fig 10.3 Age-Sex Composition of the Refugee Camps' Population-West Bank, 1987. by District.

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

dren is relatively low, followed, for the same reason, by the Hebron camps (51.8%) despite their higher proportion of elderly people. Jerusalem, with the highest proportion of 0-14 year olds, has the lowest figure (50.5%) for the working age groups.

These variations are associated with variations in the age composition of emigrants from the three Districts. As mentioned earlier (Chapter 9) persons aged 65 and over constituted 0.5% of all emigrants from the Nablus camps and 1.5% of those from the Jerusalem camps, but there were no such elderly emigrants from the Hebron camps. In the case of persons aged 50-64, the lowest proportion of emigrants in this age group (1.7%) was recorded in Hebron and the highest (2.5%) in the Jerusalem camps. As a result, the proportion of residents aged 50-64 remaining in the camps was higher in Hebron (9.1%) than in Jerusalem (6.1%) or Nablus (8.5%). In the case of those aged 30-49 the reverse is true. The lowest proportion of emigrants in this age group (32.9%) was recorded in Jerusalem, the highest (36.7%) in the Hebron camps. Thus a higher proportion of residents aged 30-49 was found in the Jerusalem camps (15.2%) than in those of Hebron and Nablus (both 14.5%). Despite these variations, the age-sex pyramids for all three Districts reflect an extremely youthful population structure.

10.1.5 Crude Dependency Ratio

Extremely youthful age structures produce high dependency ratios. Table 10.5 gives Crude Dependency Ratios for the West Bank refugee camps as a whole and for the three Districts. According to these figures there are 90.3 dependents for every 100 persons of working age; 85 are children below the age of 15 and only 5.3 are in the elderly age groups. Very similar values (90.5, 84.8 and 5.7) are reported for the Syrian camps in 1985 (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986).

However, much higher dependency ratios for Palestinian 'refugees' were

recorded by the Israeli census of 1967. At the time of that census, there were 125.7 dependents (112.5 children and 13.2 elderly) per 100 persons of working age. This was due mainly to the heavy emigration of people of working age immediately after the war, the higher fertility at that time, and the higher proportion of elderly people.

Table 10.5

Age Dependency Ratio

for the Refugee Camps

West Bank, 1987

District	Total	Child	Aged
Nablus	86.2	81.1	5.1
Jerusalem	97.6	93.0	4.6
Hebron	93.0	85.3	7.7
Total	90.28	85.04	5.24

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

As a result of the differences in fertility, mortality and migration rates among the populations of the three Districts, the crude dependency ratio was higher (97.6 dependents) in the Jerusalem camps than in the other two Districts with the lowest figure (86.2 dependents) in Nablus (Table 10.5). The highest dependency ratio for children (93 dependents) was recorded in the Jerusalem camps, and the lowest (81.1 dependents) in Nablus. For the elderly, however, the highest dependency ratio (7.7 dependents) was in the Hebron camps, and the lowest (4.6 dependents) in Jerusalem camps.

10.2 Sex Composition:

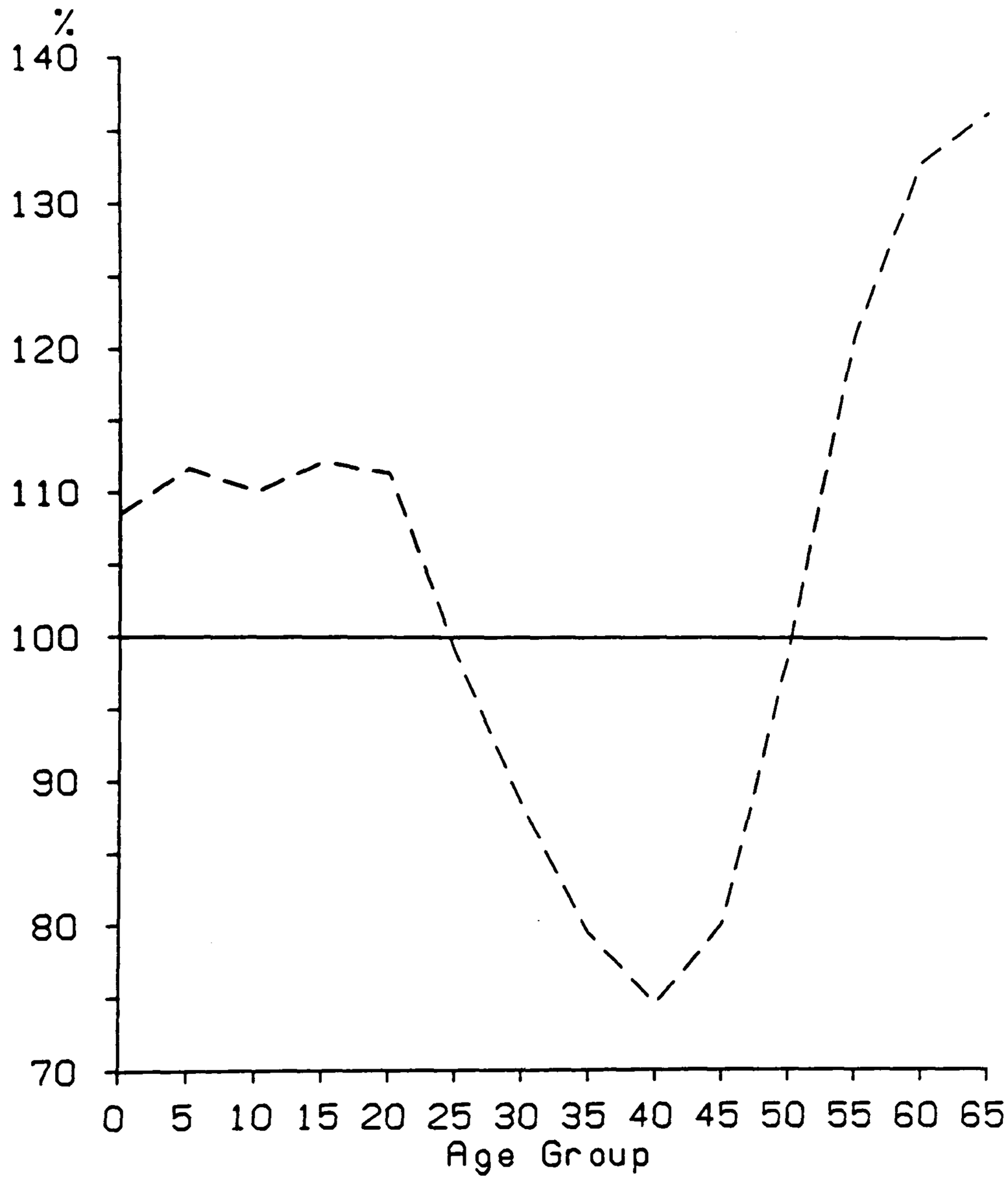
10.2.1 1987:

In 1987, the sex-ratio of the total West Bank refugee camps population was 105.5 males per 100 females. Figure 10.4 shows Age Specific Sex Ratios at five yearly intervals. About 52.4% of children below the age of 15 are males, giving a sex ratio of 110.0 . While this may be due primerly to the masculinity of births, it also reflects the very limited impact of sex-selective emigration on this age group, as well as a possible under-recording of females. Somewhat higher mortality among females than among males in these early years is suggested by the rise in the sex ratio after age 4; for example the ASDR of females aged 1-4 years is 13.3 compared to 9.1 for males of this age.

The sex-ratios decline steeply from 112.2 at the 15-19 year age group, to 74.5 at the 40-44 year age group; they rise steeply after the age of 45, from 80 at age group 45-49 years, to 136.7 at the age group 65 years and over. These figures clarify the effect of emigration from the refugee camps of the West Bank. Emigrants aged 30-49 years consisted mainly of males, and the sex-ratio reached 225 among emigrants of this age, declined to 114.3 for the 50-64 age group and to 66.7 for emigrants aged 65 and over.

Among those below the age of 30, there are significant variations in sex composition. The sex ratio rises slightly from 110 among children aged 0-14 to 111.8 among young adults aged 15-24. This may largely be explained by emigration of females on marriage. Beyond age 24, the sex ratio declines to 98.9, due to the emigration of males in search of work. The Israeli restrictions do not apply to men above the age of 26.

Figure 10.4 Age Specific Sex Ratio in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

10.2.2 Variations by District:

The 1987 sample survey recorded differences in sex-ratio of refugee camps of the three Districts in the West Bank: the highest is to be found in Hebron camps (117.8); this was 108.8 in Jerusalem camps and reached its lowest level (101.9) in Nablus camps. These differences in the sex-ratio of the three Districts may be explained by the differential proportions of emigrants from refugee camps in each District (see Chapter 9).

The age-sex pyramid of Hebron camps is characterized by the higher sex ratio in the 0-14 age group (134.2). This ratio was only 110.1 in Jerusalem and even lower in the Nablus camps (106.2). Next to the influence of the sample size in Hebron camps (10.2% of the sample population), the higher sex ratio in the 0-4 age group in Hebron camps (141) as compared with 106.2 and 104.5 in the Jerusalem and Nablus camps respectively, reflects, to some degree, the preference for, and the better care provided for, males in Hebron camps more clearly than in Nablus and Jerusalem camps. In all three Districts, however, the sex ratios in the following age groups show similar values to those of the West Bank as a whole i.e the lowest sex ratios were recorded in the 30-49 age group while the highest recorded for the elderly people, due to factors discussed above.

10.2.3 Comparisons, 1967 and 1987:

Table 10.6 suggests significant changes in age specific sex-ratios between 1967 and 1987. In general, the lower sex-ratio of 'refugees' residing in camps of the West Bank in 1967 (103.5) as compared with 105.5 for the refugee camps' population in 1987 may be explained, partly, by factors which facilitate or restrict the movement of populations between the West Bank and other territories.

In the 0-14 age group, the sex-ratio was virtually the same at both dates,

whereas in the 15-29 age group it was lower in 1967. These figures seem to suggest large-scale emigration of males included in the age group 15-29 in 1967; in 1987, the high sex ratio was due to difficulties facing males in their emigration.

Table 10.6

Age Specific Sex Ratio of Refugee

Camps-West Bank and Syria.

Age group	West Bank		Syria (3)
	1967 (1)	1987 (2)	
0-14	110.5	110.0	102.3
15-29	94.2	108.6	106.8
30-49	86.5	80.5	102.5
50-64	109.6	113.2	103.4
65+	124.8	136.7	87.6
Total	103.5	105.5	103.0

Sources:
(1) Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967.
(2) The 1987 Sample Survey.
(3) PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986.

The sex-ratio for the 30-49 year age group was higher in 1967 than in the 1987 sample survey. This reflects the higher participation of males in this age group in emigration from refugee camps (69.2% of this age group in 1987), and also that their emigration was lower in the year 1967.

10.2.4 West Bank and Syria:

The figures in Table 10.6 indicate a lower sex-ratio for Palestinians residing in refugee camps of Syria (103) as compared with those in the West Bank in 1987 (105.5). These differences may be explained by the differences in mortality and fertility rates of the two areas.

Generally, the decline in sex-ratio from 106.8 for the 15-29 age group to 102.5 for the 30-49 age group in Syria, show a lower emigration of males from refugee camps of Syria, as compared with the emigration of males from refugee camps of the West Bank.

The higher sex-ratio for the age group 65 years and over in refugee camps of the West Bank (136.7) as compared with 87.6 in refugee camps of Syria, is explained by the return movement of old male emigrants to the West Bank; the higher ASDR among males than among females aged 65 years and over in camps of Syria. It may also reflect a certain unwillingness on the part of elderly females to be recorded in the 1987 sample survey.

10.3 Summary:

From the above discussion of the age-sex composition of the refugee camps' population in the West Bank, we can note that these camps represent, as does the Palestinian people as a whole, a very youthful population structure, due to the high fertility rates, which in turn raises the dependency ratio.

Selective emigration among males of working age reduced the sex-ratio in the middle age groups. In addition, the preference for males over females and also the social respect for aged males raised the sex-ratio for children and aged people.

References:

Dahlan, A.S. 1987 *Population Characteristics and Settlement Changes in the Gaza Strip.* Ph.D Thesis. University of Durham.

Israel Central Bureau of Statistics: 1967 *Census of Population 1967: West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza Strip, Northern Sinai and Golan Hights.* Publication No.1. Jerusalem.

: 1985 *Statistical Abstract of Israel.* No.36. Jerusalem.

PLO Central Bureau of Statistics: 1986 *Sample Survey of Palestinian Arab Camps in Syria for the Year 1984-85.* Damascus.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MARITAL STATUS OF REFUGEE CAMPS' POPULATION

11.1 Introduction:

In the society of the West Bank, where births outside marriage are virtually unknown, marriage is a prime determinant of fertility. Thus the overall fertility of the population is strongly affected by the proportion of the fertile population that is married, the age at which marriage occurs and the subsequent stability of marriages.

In the refugee camps of the West Bank, couples are not considered to be married until the bridegroom has completed payment of the brideprice and completed the contract of marriage based on the sharia, the canonical law of Islam. In practice, however, they are considered as married once the wedding ceremony has taken place and the 1987 sample survey data on marital status and age at first marriage are based on this simple concept.

11.2 Marital Status:

11.2.1 1987:

Table 11.1 presents basic marital status data for the total refugee camps' population aged 15 years and over. Here, as in subsequent Tables, a simple four-fold classification has been used, Single (41.7%): those who have never married; Married (54.4%): those who are currently married; Divorced (0.5%): those who have separated and not remarried, and Widowed (3.4%): those who have not remarried after the death of a spouse. Thus, in the refugee camps of the West Bank, some 58% of the population aged 15 and over have at some time been married.

The figures in Table 11.1 indicate that a higher proportion of males (46.8%)

than of females (36.5%) remained unmarried. This is due to the fact that, on average, females marry at an earlier age (19.5 years) than males (23 years). In addition, 50.8% of all males above 15 were married; for females the proportion was 58.1%. If the divorced and widowed are added, these figures increase to 53.3% and 63.5% respectively. In addition to the sex differential in age at marriage, the higher percentage of females who were married may be explained by the fact that many male emigrants leave their wives behind in the West Bank. Polygamy played a marginal role in raising the proportion of females married. The prevailing pattern of marriage in the West Bank camps is monogamous; only 4.5% of currently married males had two or more wives.

Table 11.1

Marital Status of Refugee Camps' Population in West Bank and Syria. *percentages*

Marital Status	West Bank				Syrian Camps	
	1967 (1)		1987 (2)		1985 (3)	
	Male	Female	M	F	M	F
Single	30.8	18.7	46.8	36.5	47.5	35.9
Married	66.1	67.0	50.8	58.1	51.2	54.8
Divorced			0.3	0.7	0.3	1.0
Widowed			2.2	4.7	1.0	8.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources:
(1) Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968.
(2) The 1987 Sample Survey.
(3) PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986.

Though the number of divorcees was small- less than 1% for both males and females- there were significant differences between the sexes and the proportion of divorced females (0.7%) was more than twice that of divorced males (0.3%). In Palestinian society, where the stability of arranged marriages is reinforced by strong religious and social pressures, it is easier for men to remarry than it is for women owing to the social stigma attached to divorced females. The survey showed that, of all married men, 10.7% had married twice or more while the equivalent figure for women was only 3%. The relative ease with which males can remarry, together with the greater longevity of women account for the fact that the proportion of widowers (2.2%) is less than half that of widows (4.7%).

11.2.2 Comparisons, 1967 and 1987:

A comparison of the data derived from the 1987 survey with those from the Israeli census of 1967 (Table 11.1) reveals large differences in marital status structure. While these have been due mainly to changes in age structure a number of other factors have also played a part. According to the 1967 census, 30.8% of males and 18.7% of females were single, compared to 46.8% and 36.5% respectively in 1987. This apparent large increase in the proportions single may be attributed first to the cumulative fertility rates over the past 20 years leading to an increase in the proportion of young adults; secondly, it may be due to a rise in the average age at marriage, mainly for economic reasons; and, thirdly, current restrictions on the emigration of persons below the age of 26 also lead to a rise in the proportion of single young adults.

The effects of emigration, particularly that of married males, are also to be seen in Table 11.1. While the proportion of females married declined from 67% in 1967 to 58.1% in 1987, that of males fall even more sharply, from 66.1% to 50.8%, the result of emigrant males leaving their wives behind them in the West Bank.

Finally, the data suggest some decline in the proportions of widowed and divorced between 1967 and 1987. In the case of males, this has been relatively small- from 3.1% to 2.5%- but in the case of females there has been a fall from 14.3% to 5.4%. The high proportion of divorced and widowed females in 1967 is due in part to male war casualities and higher mortality among males in general.

11.2.3 West Bank and Syria:

Table 11.1 also indicates contrasts in the marital status structure of Palestinians living in the refugee camps of the West Bank and Syria (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986) respectively, though these are relatively minor. While the proportion of males remaining single in the Syrian camps (47.5%) is somewhat higher than that in the West Bank (46.8%), in the case of females the reverse is true: 35.9% in Syria, 36.5% in the West Bank. This is due to the fact that males in the West Bank marry somewhat earlier (at 23) than those in Syrian camps (24.4), while females marry slightly earlier (19.3 in Syria, 19.5 in the West Bank). The significantly smaller impact of emigration on the population of the Syrian camps is reflected in the figures for proportion married; among males this is slightly higher (51.2%) in Syria than in the West Bank (50.8%), among females it is considerably lower (54.8% in Syria, 58.1% in the West Bank). The most striking contrast is to be seen in the proportions widowed: for Syrian males it is half that of West Bank males, but the Syrian figure for females is nearly double that in the West Bank. It has been calculated (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986) that mortality amog males aged 55 and over in the Syrian camps is about 22.4% above that of females, whereas in the West Bank the difference is 17.8%. This clearly reflects the greater exposure of males from the Syrian camps to death in the civil wars in Lebanon, in which also the areas close to the Israeli border have sometimes been involved.

11.2.4 Marital Status and Age:

Table 11.2 and Figure 11.1 show the marital status of the West Bank refugee camps' population by age and sex and show clearly the shifts in marital status which occur through the various stages of the life cycle.

As Table 11.2 shows, up to age group 25-29, the proportion of single persons is much higher among males than it is among females. This is an obvious result of the females' earlier age at marriage; custom dictates that the husband must be in a position to support his wife before marriage can occur. The differences is particularly striking in the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups where, at the time of the 1987 survey, 90.4% of the males were still single as against 73.8% of the females. The percentage of single persons of both sexes declined rapidly thereafter. Above the age of 50, 88.2% of all males and 79.6% of all females were currently married. If the divorced and widowed are added, practically all the females (99.2%) and a very high proportion (97.8%) of the males had been married. Among the 142 people aged 65 or over in the sample, none was single, and the proportion of married males is much higher (90.2%) than that of females (53.3%), due mainly to the greater longevity of the females and the relative ease with which old males can remarry.

These figures show that the percentage of currently married females reached its highest point in the 40-44 age group, while that of males lies in the 35-39 age group. This is due to the long term migration of males, to the fact that the young, recently-married male most probably emigrated with his wife, while the older male who had been married for a long time generally preferred to leave behind his wife for child care or to lower the economic burden, or for both. That is, of course, in addition to the fact that the marriage of a male to two or more females (polygamy) was largely confined to the older age groups.

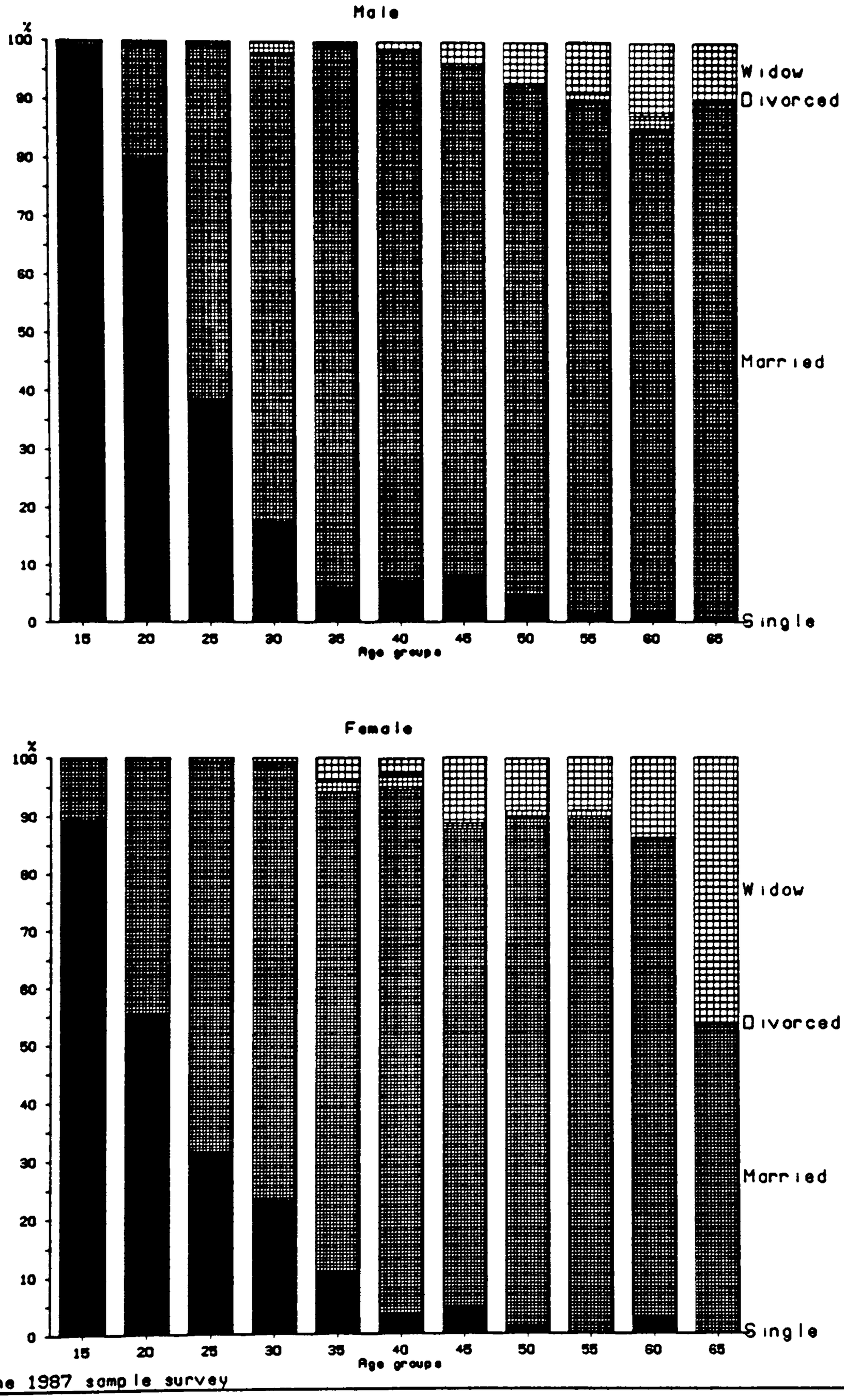
Of the sample population of 2849 in Table 11.2, only 111 or 3.9% lacked

Table 11.2
Marital Status of the Refugee Camps' Population West Bank, 1987. by Age&Sex.

Age group		Male				Female			
		S	M	D	W	S	M	D	W
15-19	No.	337	3			270	33		
	%	99.1	0.9			89.1	10.9		
20-24		226	57			141	113		
		79.9	20.1			55.5	44.5		
25-29		70	111			58	124	1	
		38.7	61.3			31.7	67.8	0.5	
30-34		16	73	2		24	78	1	
		17.6	80.2	2.2		23.3	75.7	1.0	
35-39		5	76			11	85	2	4
		6.2	93.8			10.8	83.3	2.0	3.9
40-44		6	75		1	4	100	3	3
		7.3	91.5		1.2	3.6	90.9	2.7	2.7
45-49		7	74		3	5	87	1	12
		8.3	88.1		3.6	4.8	82.9	1.0	11.4
50-54		4	77		6	1	78	1	8
		4.6	88.5		6.9	1.1	88.6	1.1	9.1
55-59		1	71	1	7		59	1	6
		1.3	88.8	1.3	8.8		89.4	1.5	9.1
60-64		1	40	1	6	1	30		5
		2.1	83.3	2.1	12.5	2.8	83.3		13.9
65+			74		8		32		28
			90.2		9.8		53.3		46.7
Total		673	731	4	31	515	819	10	66
		46.8	50.8	0.3	2.2	36.5	58.1	0.7	4.7

S: Single M: Married D: Divorced W: Widow.
Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Figure 11.1 Marital Status of Refugee Camps Population West Bank, 1987



Source: The 1987 sample survey

partners through widowhood (97) or divorce (14). 35 males (2.4%) and 76 females (5.4%) were in this category. Divorced persons were widely spread across the age range; the widowed were naturally concentrated in the older age groups where women over the age of 65 constituted 77.8% of all widowed persons and 42% of all widows.

11.2.5 Variations by District:

Table 11.3 shows the differences in marital status among the populations of the three Districts which constitute the West Bank. Although the differences are quite small, some significant contrasts may be observed. In all three Districts, the number divorced or widowed (and not remarried) is very small and the great majority are either single or married, 97.3 to 98.0% in the case of males, 94.3-94.8% in the case of females. On the male side, the proportion single was somewhat higher in the Jerusalem camps (47.9%) than in those of the other two Districts with the lowest figure (45.0%) in Hebron. In the case of females, however, the lowest proportion single (30%) was recorded in the Jerusalem camps and the highest (39.8%) in Nablus. As a corollary of this, the highest proportion of males married (53.0%) was in the Hebron camps, the lowest (50.0%)in Jerusalem. The proportion of women married was highest in Jerusalem (64.3%) and lowest (55.0%) in Nablus.

The effects of emigration would seem to be a major factor. The Jerusalem camps, when compared with those of the other Districts, record higher male and lower female emigration rates (see Chapter 9) and fewer emigrants return to the Jerusalem camps. The latter also record the highest proportion of their emigrants living in non Arab countries-a movement particularly favoured by single men- whereas there were none from Hebron in this category. In addition, the 1987 survey revealed that males with two or more wives represented 6.5% of married males in the Jerusalem camps as against 5% in Hebron and 3.5% in the Nablus camps.

Table 11.3

Marital Status of Refugee Camps' Population

West Bank, 1987. by District&Sex. *percentages*

Marital Status	Nablus		Jerusalem		Hebron	
	Male	Female	M	F	M	F
Single	46.5	39.8	47.9	30.0	45.0	35.2
Married	50.8	55.0	50.0	64.3	53.0	59.2
Divorced	0.4	0.7	0.2	0.7		0.7
Widow	2.3	4.5	1.8	5.0	2.0	4.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Although the number of the divorced is very small, the break up of marriage also has different consequences for the two sexes in the three Districts' camps. Figures in Table 11.3 indicate that the percentage of divorced females in the Jerusalem camps is about 3.5 times higher than that for divorced males; and in the Nablus camps about 1.75 times; and in the Hebron camps there were no divorced males, but the proportion of divorced females was 0.7%, as in the other two Districts. These figures suggest remarriage of divorced males is more common in the Hebron camps than in those of the other two Districts, most probably because of the traditional social view of divorced males which requires them to remarry as quickly as possible. Hebron is known to be the most traditional area in the West Bank.

The 1987 sample survey also showed that the proportion of married males who have married twice or more was 15.5% in the Jerusalem camps, 14.5% in Hebron,

but only 7% in Nablus. This percentage for females was 8.7% in Hebron; 2.7% in Nablus, and 1.8% in the Jerusalem camps. There is some evidence here that males from the Jerusalem camps practice polygamy more commonly than in the other Districts, and mainly to girls who have never married before, while in Hebron camps the males marry twice or more to provide a stable social life, and probably to divorced females.

11.3 Age At Marriage:

For the population of the West Bank refugee camps as a whole, the average age at which first marriage occurs is 19.46 for females and 23.04 for males. These figures, when compared with other Arab countries, for example Jordan: 20.4 and 25.9 in 1980, and Egypt: 19.7 and 26.4 in 1978 (United Nations, 1982), reflect the fact that marriage of the camp's inhabitants occurs at an earlier age, a result of the varying levels of socio-economic development between the three areas leading to a lower standards of marriage in the West Bank camps, and also leading to a preference for its population to marry earlier. At the same time, the U.N figures relating to the Jordan and Egypt have included the urban population.

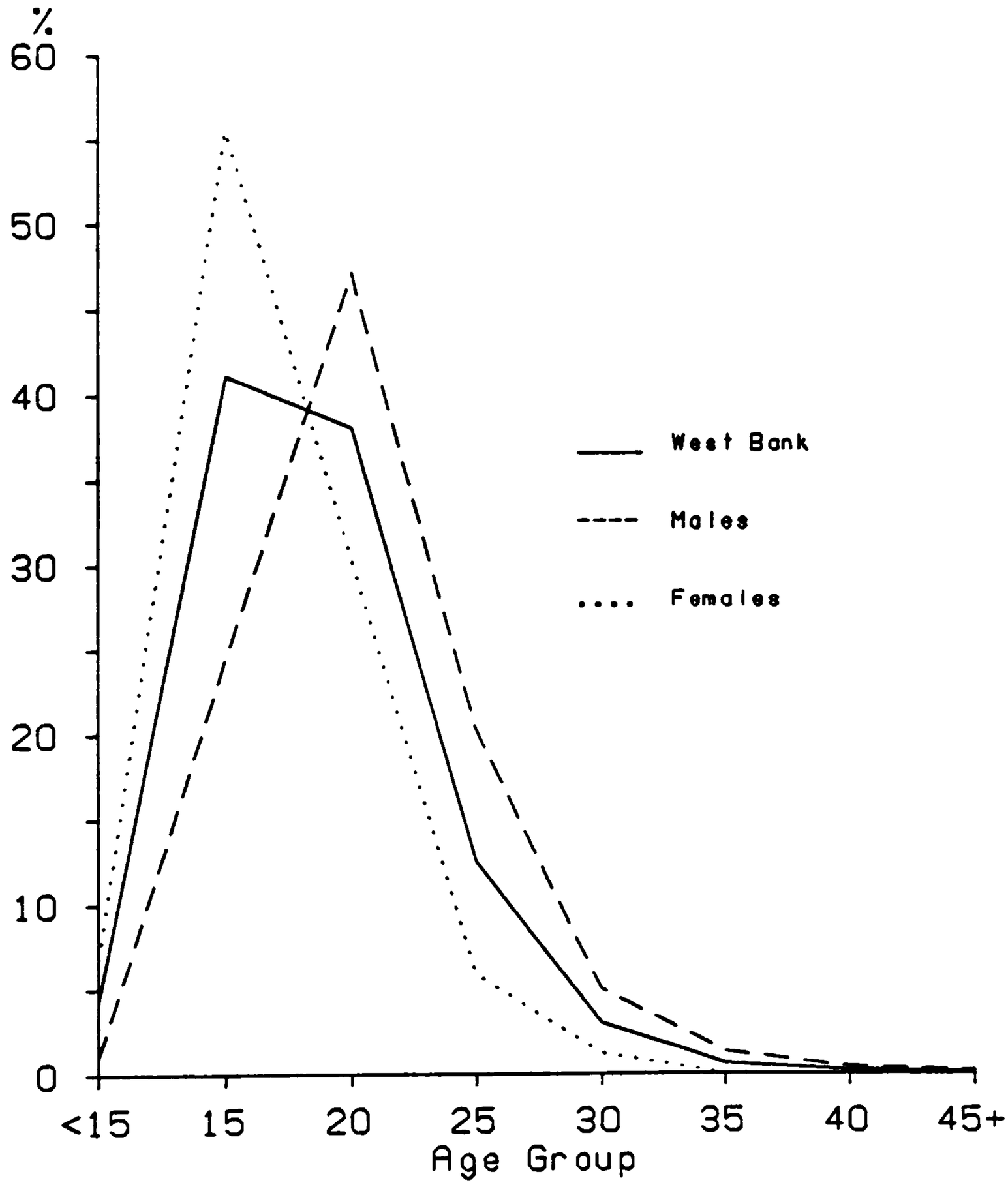
Table 11.4 and Figure 11.2 show the age at marriage of the ever-married section of the sample population. Some 92% had married between the ages of 15 and 29, some 4% below 15 and 4% at 30 or above. About 79% married between 15 and 24. There were significant differences between the two sexes. 93% of all males and nearly 99% of all females had married before the age of 30 but with different distributions within that range. 6.8% of all women, for example, had married by the age of 15, 62.4% by 19 and 92.8% by 24. For men, the equivalent figures were only 1% by 15, 25.4% by 19 and 72.7% by 24. Some 20% of all males but barely 6% of the females married between 25 and 29. These differences between the two sexes in their entry into marriage may be attributed first, to the preference of males

Table 11.4
Age at First Marriage of Ever Married Males&Females in the Refugee camps West Bank, 1987.

Age at first marriage		Males	Females	Total
0-15	No.	8	61	69
	% of total	1.0	6.8	4.2
15-19		187	498	685
		24.4	55.6	41.2
20-24		362	272	634
		47.3	30.4	38.2
25-29		156	53	209
		20.4	5.9	12.6
30-34		38	11	49
		5.0	1.2	3.0
35-39		10		10
		1.3		0.6
40-44		3		3
		0.4		0.2
45+		2		2
		0.2		0.1
Total		766	895	1661
		100	100	100

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Figure 11.2 Age at First Marriage by Sex in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

to marry younger females, owing to the fact that the younger females also have longer period of reproductivity. As a result, female marriage occurs almost entirely below the age of 35. A second factor may be the parents' desire, for socio-economic reasons, to see their daughters married as early as possible, even if this terminates their education prematurely, especially if a particularly suitable bridgroom presents himself. In addition, the marriage of males is delayed by their need to be in a position to support a wife before the marriage can take place.

11.3.1 Variations by Districts:

The 1987 sample survey revealed significant differences between the three Districts as regards the age at marriage for both sexes (Table 11.5). As the Table shows, the proportion who had married between the ages of 15 and 29 was higher in the Hebron camps (97.1%) than in the other two Districts with the lowest figure (91.3%) in Nablus. Within this range, the highest proportion of both males (98.8%) and females (95.7%) was in the Hebron camps, while the lowest proportion of males (90.6%) was in Nablus, and the lowest for females was in the Jerusalem camps (90.7%). Some 5.5% of both sexes in the Jerusalem camps had married below the age of 15 as against 3.8% in Nablus and 2.3% in Hebron. The highest proportion of both males (2.2%) and females (8.2%) married below 15 was in the Jerusalem camps, while the lowest (4.3% of all females, none of the males) was in the Hebron camps. The proportion who had married at 30 or above was higher in the Nablus camps (4.9%) than in the other two Districts, with the lowest figure (0.6%) in Hebron. The highest proportion of males (8.7%) and the females (1.5%) married at 30 or above was in the Nablus camps, while the lowest (1.2% of all males, none of the females) was in Hebron. Thus, whilst males of Nablus camps were delaying marriage more than those of Hebron and the Jerusalem -all the males who married at age 40 or over were residing in the Nablus camps- the females of Hebron camps married younger

Table 11.5
Age at First Marriage of Ever Married Males&Females in the Refugee Camps West Bank, 1987. by District.

Age at first marriage		Nablus			Jerusalem			Hebron		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-15	No.	3	34	37	5	23	28	0	4	4
	% of total	0.7	6.5	3.8	2.2	8.2	5.5	0.0	4.3	2.3
15-19		108	292	400	61	155	216	18	51	69
		23.6	56.0	40.9	27.0	55.0	42.5	21.7	55.4	39.4
20-24		205	153	358	105	83	188	52	36	88
		44.9	29.4	36.6	46.5	29.4	37.0	62.7	39.1	50.3
25-29		101	34	135	43	18	61	12	1	13
		22.1	6.5	13.8	19.0	6.4	12.0	14.5	1.1	7.4
30-34		28	8	36	10	3	13	0	0	0
		6.1	1.5	3.7	4.4	1.1	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
35-39		7	0	7	2	0	2	1	0	1
		1.5	0.0	0.7	0.9	0.0	0.4	1.2	0.0	0.6
40-44		3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0.7	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
45+		2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total		457	521	978	226	282	508	83	92	175
		46.7	53.3	100	44.5	55.5	100	47.4	52.6	100

M: Male F: Female T:Total.
Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

than those of the Nablus and the Jerusalem camps, due mainly to the variations in socio-economic conditions of the three Districts. As a result, the mean age at first marriage for males of Nablus was the highest for Districts of the West Bank at 23.45 years, followed by Jerusalem (22.46 years), while the lowest was in the Hebron camps at 22.32 years. And, as has already been noted, the mean age at first marriage for females of Nablus camps was 19.53 years, compared with 19.36 and 19.35 years for females of Jerusalem and Hebron camps respectively.

11.3.2 Age at Marriage and Level of Education:

Table 11.6 and Figure 11.3 show the relationship between age at marriage and level of education. Not surprisingly, the mean age at first marriage rises gradually with level of education from a minimum of 20.1 years (both sexes) among the illiterate, to 24.1 among those with higher education. The differences are somewhat greater among women than among men. As a result, the sex differential in age at first marriage becomes less as level of education rises, from 3.4 years among the illiterate to 1.7 among those with higher education.

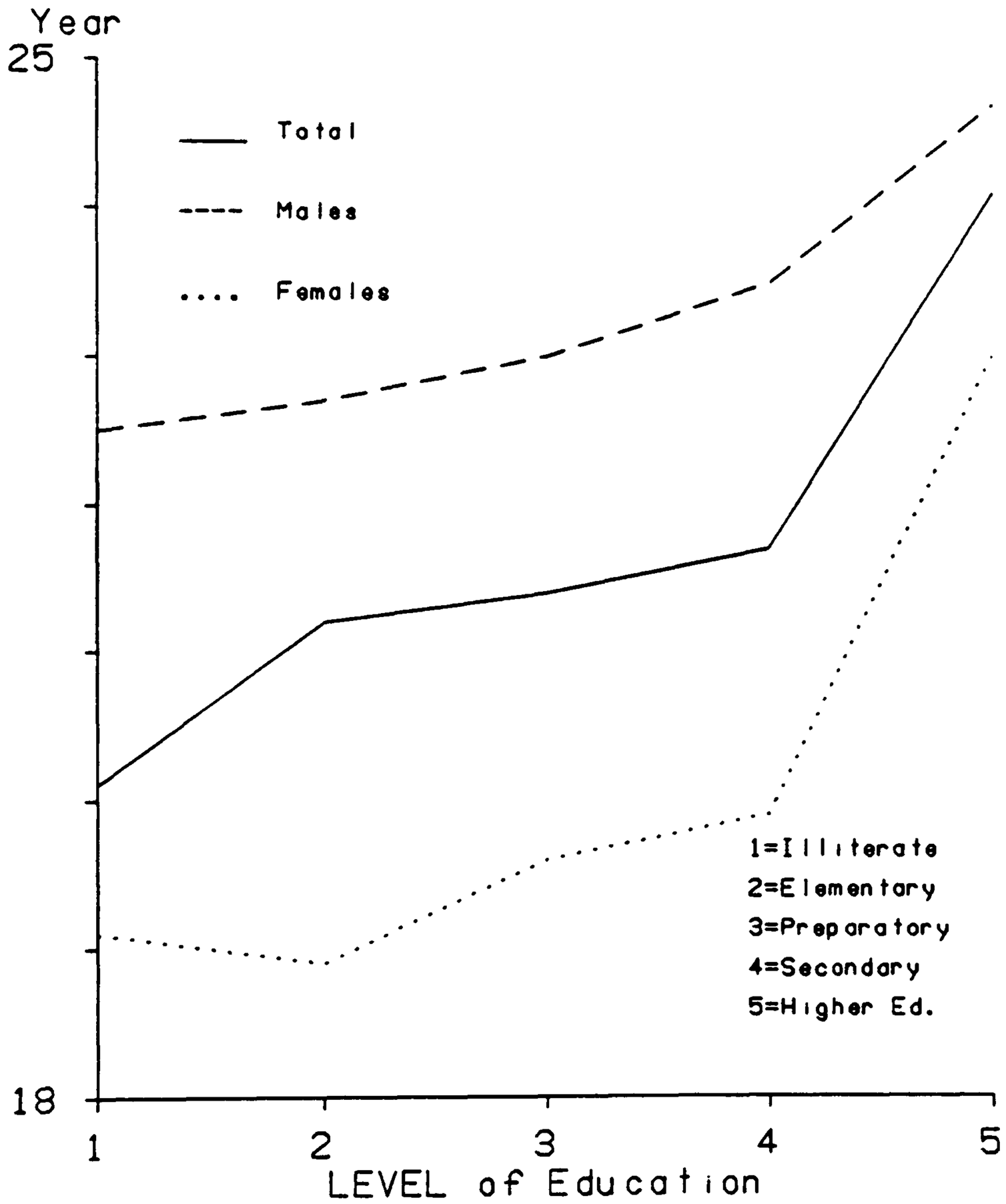
Table 11.6

Mean Age at First Marriage in Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987 by Level of Education& Sex.

Educational level	Males	Females	Total
Illiterate	22.5	19.1	20.1
Elementary	22.7	18.9	21.2
Preparatory	23.0	19.6	21.4
Secondary	23.5	19.9	21.7
Higher	24.7	23.0	24.1
Total	23.04	19.46	21.11

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Figure 11.3 Mean Age at First Marriage in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987 by Level of Education & Sex



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

Table 11.7 show the marital status of the current population aged 15 years and over by educational levels; the proportion of single people rises with educational levels, while that of married people declines. Single illiterates represent 6.3% of total illiterates; the equivalent figures are 17.1% of people with elementary and 66.3% of people within higher educational level. It also shows that, up to elementary level education, the proportion of single females (12.5%) is higher than that of single males (9.1%); illiterate males or those with only elementary level education find it easier to marry than the equivalent females. This is due to the fact that males tend to marry females having the same, or nearly the same level of education, or to marry an educated female whom they would expect to be a better mother than the illiterate.

Above the elementary level of education, 65.1% of all males remained single as against 58.8% in the case of females. This is due to the fact that, for many females, education is terminated after the preparatory level; while many males continue their secondary and higher education, and thus delay marriage more than do the females.

More clearly, results of the 1987 sample survey show that 92.6% of single males and 94.8% of single females with institute and university qualifications graduated in the period 1980 and after. Of the married males and females with these qualifications 48.2% (or 39 males) and 61.7% respectively graduated in the same period. In other words, only 28.1% of the males and 34.9% of the females who graduated in this period were married. These figures relate to the fact that only males are required to provide money, and that they also faced both the lack of job opportunities within the West Bank, and the restriction of their emigration abroad inorder to seek work, and thus they delayed marriage much more than the females.

The figures also suggest that the female graduates' chance of marriage is strongly influenced by conditions of graduated males, which limited their opportunity to be ready economically for marriage. The female graduates' chance to marry may

Table 11.7
Educational Level of Persons Aged 15 Years&Over in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987. by Marital Status&Sex.

Educational level		Male		Female		Total	
		S	Ev.M	S	Ev.M	S	Ev.M
Illiterate	No.	9	172	31	423	40	595
	%	5.0	95.0	6.8	93.2	6.3	93.7
Elementary		34	256	54	171	88	427
		11.7	88.3	24.0	76.0	17.1	82.9
Preparatory		203	165	157	157	360	322
		55.2	44.8	50.0	50.0	52.8	47.2
Secondary		267	92	181	97	448	189
		74.4	25.6	65.1	34.9	70.3	29.7
Higher Ed.		160	81	92	47	252	128
		66.4	33.6	66.2	33.8	66.3	33.7
Total		673	766	515	895	1188	1661
		46.8	53.2	36.5	63.5	41.7	58.3

S: Single Ev.M: Ever Married.
Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

also be influenced by their own views, those of their parents on the choice of husband or the fitter bridegroom. Recent trends in attitudes toward marriage favour husbands who are well educated; employed with high income. It may also be explained, partly, by the fact that many males prefer to marry a younger female, or by the wish of some males not to marry a better educated females for cultural reasons or for the stability of marriage.

11.3.3 Age at first Marriage by Current Age:

Table 11.8, showing age at first marriage for three broad age groups, suggests that the mean age at marriage has increased somewhat in recent decades. This would appear to be true particularly of females (those now aged 15-34 married 1.4 years later than those of 55+, compared with 0.7 for males) probably as a result of improved educational opportunities for women.

Table 11.8

Current Age and Age at First Marriage of Ever Married Males&Females in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Age group	Male	Female	Total
15-34	23.4	19.9	21.4
35-54	23.0	19.4	21.0
55+	22.7	18.5	20.9
Total	23.04	19.46	21.11

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

11.4 Source of Partners:

The survey results also show that all married people in the refugee camps of the West Bank can be described as Palestinians. 62.1% are married to relatives, 15.2% to others from the same camp, 12.7% to inhabitants of other parts of the West Bank, and 10% to partners from the Gaza Strip and other parts of pre-1948 Palestine. This is due to the facts that movement of the refugee camps' population abroad is restricted by their poor economic conditions, the strong kinship ties in these camps, the difficulty of life in refugee camps for both Arab and the non Arab females, and the conditions prevailing in the West Bank after the year 1967. As noted earlier (Chapter 9) the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967 put an end to uncontrolled movements between the West Bank and Jordan, preventing the possibility of non-Palestinians living in these camps. Israeli regulations make it hard to obtain a 'reunion permit' for any nominee bride from abroad, irrespective of her relationship, relative or not, and also irrespective of her nationality. 'Reunion permits' are not given to males.

The relationship between married couples also affects the mean age at first marriage. Relatives marry 0.5 year younger than the non-related couples. Relatives marry at 20.9 years old, while the others marry at 21.4 years old. The parallel figures for females are 19.3 and 19.8 years, and for males 22.9 and 23.3 years. This is due to the fact that marriage between relatives lowers the standards of marriage required from the males, mainly because of the fact that relatives have a better understanding of the male's circumstances, while non relatives are usually required to be completely ready for marriage.

11.5 Summary:

From the above discussion of the marital status of the West Bank refugee

camps' population we can note that, in spite of divorce and polygamy being permissible in Islam, the prevailing pattern of marriage is monogamy and highly stable. Social ties, traditions and customs, together with the poor economic conditions in these camps are the most influential factors in producing the high proportion of marriages between relatives; the low mean age of first marriage, and the low incidence of divorce and remarriage. Parents in these camps are the influential people in their girls' marriage; the females have an inferior status, and they are brought up for marriage.

The greater importance now attached to the education of both sexes has its influence in delaying their age of marriage. At the same time, lack of job opportunities in the West Bank or abroad make it hard to be ready economically for marriage, leading to a large proportion of graduates remaining in a state of bachelorhood.

Poor economic conditions, hard life conditions in refugee camps, together with the Israeli occupation and regulations which took place after 1967, all played a role in reducing the possibility of men marrying girls who reside abroad, even if they are Palestinians or relatives.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

ECONOMIC COMPOSITION OF THE REFUGEE CAMPS' POPULATION

12.1 Introduction:

The 1987 survey recorded, for all persons in the sample aged 15 and over, their employment status during the week preceeding the survey. The first distinction to be made is that between the economically active (i.e the labour force) and the economically inactive elements. The economically active population comprises both the employed and the unemployed. The employed are those who had worked, for any pay or for profit, during the week preceeding the survey, whether in a full-time or a part-time job. The unemployed include those waiting to take up a job already accepted, those seeking work either for the first time or having lost a job held previously as well as those prevented from seeking work by temporary sickness. The economically inactive include those incapable of work owing to disability or sickness, students, housewives, retired people and income recipients.

12.2 Economically Active Population: (Labour Force)

Table 12.1 shows the employment status of the West Bank refugee camps population aged 15 and over by District and sex. Of the sample population aged 15 and over, numbering 2849, about 42.2% were classified as economically active i.e 1203 persons; of these 89.4% were employed leaving 10.6% unemployed. Of the economically inactive population, numbering 1646, some 63% were housewives, 29.7% students, 5.3% incapable of work, and only 2% were retired people and income recipients.

Thus, of a sample population of 5151, only 23.3% were economically active;

Table 12.1
Population Aged 15 Years and over in Refugee Camps-West Bank, by Labour Force Characteristics, Sex&District, 1987.

District		Population 15+			In Labour Force									Out of Labour Force		
					Total			Employed			Unemployed					
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Nablus	No.	854	865	1719	629	84	713	576	70	646	53	14	67	225	781	1006
	%				73.7	9.7	41.5	91.6	83.3	90.6	8.4	16.7	9.4	26.3	90.3	58.5
Jerusalem		434	403	837	331	39	370	301	32	333	30	7	37	103	364	467
					76.3	9.7	44.2	90.9	82.1	90.0	9.1	17.9	10.0	23.7	90.3	55.8
Hebron		151	142	293	109	11	120	92	5	97	17	6	23	42	131	173
					72.2	7.7	40.9	84.4	45.5	80.8	15.6	54.5	19.2	27.8	92.3	59.1
Total		1439	1410	2849	1069	134	1203	969	107	1076	100	27	127	370	1276	1646
					74.3	9.5	42.2	90.6	79.8	89.4	9.4	20.2	10.6	25.7	90.5	57.8

M: Male F: Female T: Total.
Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

the proportion actually employed was somewhat lower at 20.9%. These figures reflect a high economic dependency ratio in these camps: 4.3 dependants to each economically active person i.e each economically active person is responsible for himself and 3.3 other persons. The high dependacy ratio is clearly a product of the youthful age structure with some 44.7% below the age of 15, and the high level of attendance at school. This is also related to the low female participation rate in these camps, where only 9.5% of women aged 15 and over are economically active, as against 74.3% of the men. This lower participation rate of the females, however, is a result of the social stigmas on female employment outside the home, and also a result of the high rate of males unemployed. On the male side, the relatively low participation rate may be attributed to the significantly higher emigration of males than of females (see Chapter 9), which reduces the proportion of all male who are in the working age group. Another factor is the higher level of males attendance at school; 55.4% of students aged 15 and over, and some 60% of all enrollees in higher education were males (see Chapter 13). A large proportion of all inactive males (73.2%) are students as against some 17% of the females. The latter are mainly housewives (81.3%). Nearly 19% of all inactive males are incapable of work, and 7.6% are retired and income recipients. For the females, these proportions were only 1.3% and 0.4% respectively.

12.2.1 Variations by District:

Table 12.1 also shows significant differences between the three Districts regards the employment status for both sexes. The proportion economically active was somewhat higher in the Jerusalem camps (44.2%) than in those of the other two Districts with the lowest figure (40.9%) in Hebron. On the male side, the proportion economically active was also higher in the Jerusalem camps (76.3%) than those of Nablus (73.7%) or Hebron (72.2%). The female participation rate was highest (9.7%) in Jerusalem and Nablus, and lowest (7.7%) in the Hebron camps. These figures

reveal the better socio-economic conditions prevailing in the Jerusalem and Nablus Districts than in Hebron, which influence the job opportunities and lead to a greater social stigmas on female employment in Hebron than in the other two Districts.

On the other hand, the higher male participation rate in the Jerusalem camps as compared with Nablus and Hebron camps, may be explained, partly, by the location of the Jerusalem camps near to Jerusalem city, where work, such as the provision of tourist services and that involved in the Israeli establishment of settlements around the old city, is much more concentrated than in the other parts of the West Bank. The survey recorded that 35.6% of employed males from Jerusalem camps who worked in cities are concentrated in these trades described above, while this proportion is 27.2% in Nablus and 15.3% in the Hebron camps.

As a corollary of this, the highest proportions of economically inactive males (27.8%) and the females (92.3%) were in the Hebron camps, the lowest for males (23.7%) was recorded in the Jerusalem; both Jerusalem and Nablus camps recorded the lowest figure (90.3%) for females. These differences between the three Districts regarding the proportion inactive may be related to the significantly higher percentage of retired and income recipients and persons incapable of work in the Hebron camps (11.6% of all inactive population), as against 7.3% and 5.5% in Nablus and Jerusalem camps, respectively. These two categories constituted together some 43% of all inactive males in the Hebron camps, as against 24.6% in Nablus, and 19.3% in the Jerusalem camps. On the other hand, housewives in the Hebron camps represented 83.2% of the total inactive female population, while their percentage was 81% both in the Nablus and Jerusalem camps.

12.2.2 West Bank and Syria:

Comparisons with equivalent data from the Syrian refugee camps reveal

some significant differences. Of all Palestinians residing in the Syrian camps (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986) about 26.1% were economically active; the proportion actually employed was 24%, compared to 23.3% and 20.9% respectively in the West Bank. The higher proportion of economically active in the Syrian camps is due to a variety of factors. In the first place, the PLO data include children aged 10-14 who are economically active; these constitute about 1% of the employed persons in the Syrian camps, whereas the West Bank survey detected no employed person below the age of 15. Secondly, emigration of adult males from the refugee camps of the West Bank is significantly higher than in the Syrian case, thus reducing the proportion of all males who are in the working age groups. Thirdly, a higher proportion (12%) of women of working age are economically active in the Syrian camps than in those of the West Bank (9.5%), suggesting that the social pressures which restrict female employment are somewhat less strong in the Syrian camps.

As a result of the factors outlined above, a high proportion of the Palestinians residing in refugee camps, in both Syria and the West Bank, remain outside the labour force. According to the PLO Central Bureau of Statistics (1986), about 61% of the total population aged 10 years and over, including 34.6% of the males and 88% of the females are inactive. If this lower age threshold is applied in the West Bank, the inactive proportions rise to 41.6% for males, 92.4% for females and 66.5% for the total population.

12.2.3 Age Specific Activity Rate: (ASAR)

Age Specific Activity Rate, which shows the connection between economic activity and age, are calculated directly from the number of active persons in the week preceeding the 1987 sample survey per 100 population of a given age group.

Age and sex-specific activity rate for five-year age groups are given in

Table 12.2 and graphed in Figure 12.1. Nearly one-fifth of the 15-19 age group are economically active including less than 6% of the females but nearly one-third of the males. By age group 20-24, nearly half the total are active, including nearly 85% of the males but less than one-tenth of the females. Thereafter, the male participation rate remains well above 90% until ages 55-59; thereafter it falls away but is still nearly 17% for men above the age of seventy. Clearly, in the West Bank refugee camps males work over a long life span. This is due to a variety of factors. In the first place, the social view of work, which gives the responsibility for producing and feeding to males while it prevents, in the most part, females from working outside the home, leads to a greater male participation at an early age. Secondly, the economic conditions of the camps and their inhabitants, who are generally poor or have limited incomes, force people there to participate in the labour force over a long life. This is associated particularly with lack of social security for the older people, not only in refugee camps but also in the West Bank as a whole. The only sort of security for the elderly people are their sons and their own work, particularly when the sons' income is limited and might hardly cover the needs of their own new family units.

At all ages, male participation rates are far above those of females, as women's work in traditional societies is mostly marginal. The male participation rates exceed those of the females by 7.8 times in general, and reached 14 times and 23 times in the age groups 50-54 and 60-64, respectively. Male participation rates show a more consistant trend in connection with age than those of females. Both sexes reach the highest ASAR at the age group 30-34 years. Thereafter, the participation rates for males declines, gradually at first, then rapidly beyond age of 55; those of the females show a less simple trend. After the decline in the female participation rate at the age group 40-44 years, it shows fluctuations up to the age group 55-59 before sharply declining to its lowest point (2.8) in the age group 60-64.

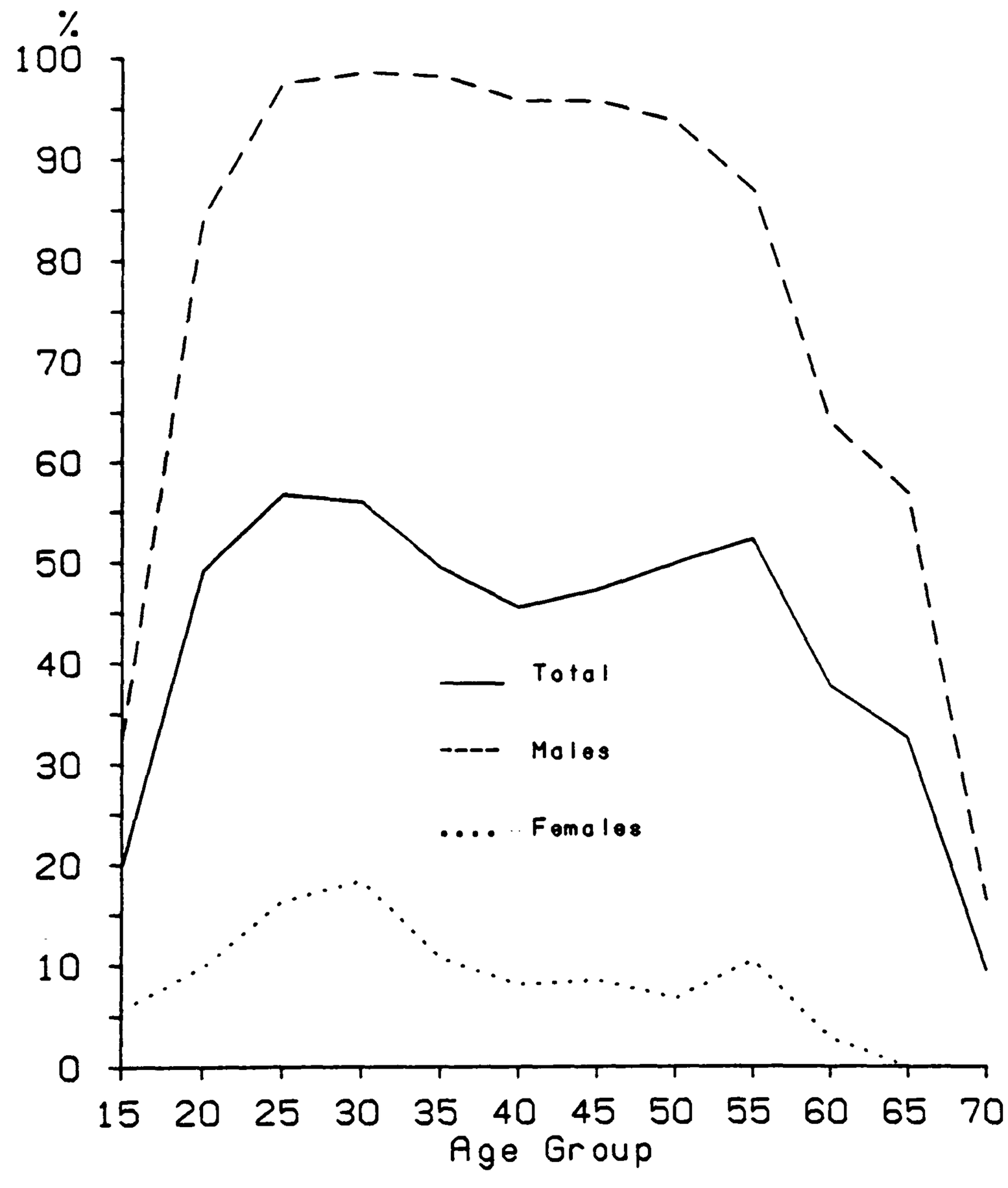
These fluctuations in female participation rates may be described, together

Table 12.2
Age Specific Activity Rate
Refugee Camps-West Bank,
1987

Age group	Total	Males	Females
15-19	19.7	32.3	5.6
20-24	49.2	84.5	9.8
25-29	56.9	97.8	16.4
30-34	56.2	98.9	18.4
35-39	49.7	98.7	10.8
40-44	45.8	96.3	8.2
45-49	47.6	96.4	8.6
50-54	50.3	94.3	6.8
55-59	52.7	87.5	10.6
60-64	38.1	64.6	2.8
65-69	32.9	57.5	
70+	9.7	16.7	
Total	42.2	74.3	9.5

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Figure 12.1 Age Specific Activity Rate in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

with their marginal involvement, as one of the more important characteristics distinguishing the female involvement to the labour force in refugee camps of the West Bank. They are mainly related to the fact that many women work as a result of special circumstances; for example, divorced and widowed women together represented 52.6% of the active females aged 45-59 years in the 1987 sample survey.

12.3 The Employed Population:

12.3.1 Comparisons, 1967 and 1987:

As noted earlier, Israeli statistics subsequent to the 1967 census do not provide separate figures for either the 'refugee' or the 'refugee camp' population of the West Bank. The only data in the 1967 census on the employment status of refugees residing in the camps refer to 'working men' only and to their distribution by occupation. These show that, of all males aged 15 and over, 55.6% were working before the 1967 war, but only 34.2% immediately after it (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1967), compared with the 67.3% recorded in the 1987 sample survey. The abrupt decline in the proportion of men working between May and September 1967 reflects the unsettled conditions in the West Bank immediately following the war and the Israeli occupation. The significantly higher proportion of males employed in 1987 reflects not only a return to more normal conditions following the first few months of the occupation but also the fact that, from July 1968, the Israeli authorities permitted the population of the West Bank to seek employment inside Israel. As Table 12.1 shows, by 1987, 89.4% of the economically active population - 90.6% of the males and 79.8% of the females- were working.

12.3.2 Employment in Israel:

Over the past 20 years, a sizeable proportion of the West Bank labour force

has found employment in Israel, a situation very different from that prior to 1967, when those who could not find employment in the West Bank sought it in other Arab countries or beyond. From July 1968, the Israeli authorities established employment offices in the West Bank which assisted individuals to obtain work in accordance with the needs of the Israeli economy (Ennab, 1979).

A major reason underlying the Israeli decision to allow workers from the West Bank (and the other occupied territories) to seek employment in Israel was the need to revivify the economy of the West Bank, to increase the purchasing power of its population and thus to provide additional markets for Israeli industry. In addition, the military activities which reduced the Israeli labour force available to work in the Israeli sectors at that period, seems to have played a part (Khalifah, 1971).

The 1987 sample survey recorded 39.9% of the total employed population of the West Bank refugee camps as working in Israel, a figure significantly higher than the 31.4% recorded for the West Bank population as a whole in 1985 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986). A number of factors account for the high proportion of the refugee camps' economically active population working in Israel. Lack of land and shortage of capital prevent many of the inhabitants from working on their own land or establishing their own trades or businesses. At the same time, the reduced demand for labour in the Arab Gulf states in particular has reduced the opportunities there not only for the illiterate and those with school-level education, but also for those with higher educational attainments. Of those employed in Israel in 1987, 12.1% had higher educational levels.

Relationships with the employer and the employment status of workers, namely whether in permanent or temporary work were, of course, among the characteristics recorded for the 1076 employed during the 1987 survey. Table 12.3 crosstabulates this relationship and employment status with place of work. As the Table shows,

Table 12.3
Place of Work of Employed Persons by Relationship with the Employer, and Employment Statement Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Place of work	Relationship with the Employer*		Employment Statement		Total
	self employed	hired worker	perm anent	tempo rarily	
Refugee camps No.	77	139	145	73	218
%	35.3	63.7	66.5	33.5	
Village-W.B	5	30	23	12	35
	14.3	85.7	65.7	34.3	
City-W.B	79	314	257	137	394
	20.1	79.7	65.2	34.8	
West Bank	161	483	425	222	647
	24.9	74.6	65.7	34.3	
Israel	18	411	175	254	429
	4.2	95.8	40.8	59.2	
Total	179	894	600	476	1076
	16.6	83.1	55.8	44.2	100

* only 3 unpaid family workers.
Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

more than four-fifths (83.1%) of the employed were working as hired workers but only 16.6% as self employed with no employees; the remainder 0.3% were working as unpaid family workers. Hired workers constituted some 96% of those working in Israel but less than 75% in the case of West Bank. The remainder, in the both areas, were working as self employed. Self employed are roughly equally divided between camps and cities (some 43% each), with very few in Israel (10%). Work as hired labour is very limited in the camps, and occurs mainly in the West Bank cities (35%) and Israel (46%). This is largely related to lack of capital of the camps' inhabitants. At the same time, Israeli regulations prevent most of the West Bank inhabitants from establishing their own trades or businesses in Israel, another factor likely to affect their relationship with the Israeli employers. And in general, the low percentage of the self employed, together with the significantly limited proportion of unpaid family workers, reveal the fact that trades established by the refugee camps' population are mainly on a small scale, and their capacity to absorb workers is very limited.

Table 12.3 also shows that, of all those employed, 55.8% are engaged in permanent employment while the rest (44.2%) are employed temporarily. Of the latter, 53.4% are employed in Israel. Permanent employment in Israel is rather limited (29.2%), and occurs mainly in West Bank cities (42.8%) and camps (24.2%). A sizeable majority (65.7%) of those working in the West Bank itself are engaged in permanent employment while the majority (59.2%) of those working in Israel are engaged in temporary work.

In addition to the seasonal nature of some occupations, for example construction and agriculture, which raises the percentage who are temporarily employed in both areas, the higher percentage of employees who worked temporarily in Israel is likely to be due to the fact that work permits or work referral certificates - which certify that the worker has gone through proper legal channels (the Israeli employment offices) in obtaining his specific job- are issued for a period of four months, after

which they must be renewed. About one-third of the total of employees occupied territories working in Israel, are estimated to be irregular workers Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 1987).

12.3.3 Variations by District:

Once again, the poorer socio-economic conditions in the Hebron camps are indicated by the figures at District level (Table 12.1). Whereas in the camps of the Jerusalem and Nablus Districts some 90% of the economically active population was employed, the equivalent figure for the Hebron camps was only 80.8%. These contrasts in employment rates applied to both sexes but were particularly striking in the case of females, whose employment rates were 83.3% in Nablus and 82.1% in the Jerusalem camps but only 45.5% in the camps of the Hebron District. This is a further illustration of the more traditional and closed nature of the Hebron District where there are only limited possibilities of female employment.

The data also show that the proportion unemployed in Nablus and Jerusalem camps (both sexes) was lower than the average by 11.3% and 5.7% respectively, but was 81% above the average in the Hebron camps. In all three Districts, the unemployment rate among females is higher than among the males with the highest figure (3.5 times) in Hebron. On the male side, the proportion unemployed was higher (15.6%) in the Hebron camps than in those of the other two Districts, with the lowest figure (8.4%) in Nablus. In case of the females, this was also higher (54.5%) in Hebron than in Jerusalem (17.9%) and the Nablus camps (16.7%).

12.3.4 West Bank and Syria:

Certain conditions prevailing in the refugee camps of the West Bank, have played their role in raising the unemployment rate in these camps. Table 12.1 shows that the unemployment rate was 10.6% of the economically active population in these

camps; 20.2% in the case of females, 9.4% in case of the males. The comparative figures for Palestinians residing in the refugee camps of Syria are found to be 7.7%; 11.7% and 7% respectively (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics. 1986) due to factors discussed above, and related mainly to the fact that females work more in Syrian camps than in refugee camps of the West Bank.

Additional to the social concept of women's work among the Palestinians, the loss of land for refugee women terminated their work on family farms after the year 1948. This is a role which still characterizes much of female labour in the Arab countries where women are commonly unpaid family workers, especially in the rural areas (Rockwell, 1985).

12.4 Occupational Structure of the Employed:

12.4.1 Comparisons, 1967 and 1987:

As already indicated (see above, p. 263), there was a dramatic decline in employment among the refugee camps population associated with the 1967 war. The number of employed males fell from 7,783 to 4,786, a decline of 38.5%. Compared with this average, the decline was particularly marked in construction, where the number employed fell by 50.7%, in industry (49.5%), in agriculture (46.6%), and in transport and storage (42.1%). Less dramatic falls were recorded in the case of commerce (22.3%) and services (13.5%) (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968).

As Table 12.4 shows, the war produced not only a decline in total employment but also significant changes in occupational distribution. Whereas before the war the three main sectors -agriculture, industry and construction- accounted for 62.4% of male employment, following the war this was reduced to 51.6%. On the other hand, the proportion employed in commerce, services and 'other' occupations rose from 25.4% to 36.4%. It is known that, in an emergency situation, many had to

Table 12.4
Occupational Structure of Worked Men from Refugee Camps-West Bank, in 1967&1987.

Occupation	1967 (1)		1987 (2)
	before the war	after the war	
Agriculture	18.9	16.4	7.3
Industry	20.5	16.8	12.0
Construction	23.0	18.4	33.0
Services	33.5	40.4	45.6
Professional, adm.&clerical	7.6	7.6	6.7
Commerce	10.6	13.4	10.1
Transportation& storage	4.6	4.3	5.1
Others	10.7	15.1	23.7
Unclassified	4.1	7.9	2.2
Total	100	100	100

Sources:
(1) Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968.
(2) The 1987 Sample Survey.

work as traders or peddlers, regardless of their pre-war occupations, in order to cover their essential daily needs. The slight decline in the proportion employed in transport and storage -involving a fall of more than 40% in the number actually working in this sector- may be related to the limitations on movement between the West and East Banks of Jordan at that time.

Table 12.4 sets the occupational structure of 1967 against that revealed by the 1987 sample survey. A slight decline occured in the proportion employed in professional, administrative and clerical activities, mainly due to the high rate of emigration among those with advanced educational qualifications. The decline in the proportion employed in commerce reflects the return to their earlier occupations of many who entered this sector immediately after the 1967 war. The most significant trend, however, especially when compared with the situation before the war, has been the pronounced decline in the proportions employed in the main productive sectors -agriculture and industry- and a compensating increase in services and construction. In 1967, agriculture and industry employed about one-third of all male workers; by 1987 it had fallen below 20%. Services and construction -also about one-third in 1967- accounted for 56.7% of all male workers in 1987. These changes reflect the impact of two decades of Israeli occupation which have tended to suppress economic development in the West Bank thus limiting employment opportunities and causing many to seek employment in Israel. The effects can be seen particularly in the agricultural sector. Between 1961-66 and 1968-74, the average cultivated area of the West Bank declined by 30.8% and there was a fall in agricultural output of about 29%. By 1976, the amount of land under the Israeli authorities' control, whether used for Israeli settlements and military purposes or being subject to severe restrictions, reached a quarter of the total land area; some 78% of this is classified as agricultural land and represents some 31% of all such land in the West Bank (Ennab, 1979). By April 1985, the Israeli authorities had ensured control over 52% of the total land area;

some 2,268,500 dunams, or 41% of the West Bank, is under direct Israeli possession; 570,000 dunams, or 11%, is placed under severe restrictions, and there were 104 Israeli settlements in the West Bank (Benvinisti, 1986), compared with 63 in March 1978 (Abdul Hadi, 1978). Consequently, many former agricultural workers were obliged to seek employment in Israel.

On the other hand, as a result of the opportunity to work in Israel, the standard of living of the West Bank population has undoubtedly improved since 1967. In the early 1970s, real wages for work in Israel were nearly 25% higher than those available in the West Bank (Ennab, 1979). Unskilled, manual, hard and unhealthy jobs have been progressively abandoned by Israeli workers and taken over by migrants from the West Bank. Even when the latter were not available in sufficient numbers, Israeli workers were unwilling to take on such work. In December 1984, for example, 3,800 Israelis refused jobs offered by the employment service (International Labour Office, 1985). Factors of this kind have played a major role in redistributing the labour force of the West Bank and, of course, in restructuring that of the refugee camps. Such matters as changes in agricultural and industrial technology (Israel Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 1987) have had relatively little effect.

12.4.2 Variations by Sex:

The 1987 sample survey provided information on the occupational structure of both sexes; this is displayed in Table 12.5 and reveals significant differences in the employment patterns of males and females. Work in a number of sectors - construction, transportation and storage- is confined entirely to males. As a result, the proportions of all female workers employed in other sectors are generally higher than those of males though the numbers of females are, of course, very much smaller. In the case of professional, administrative and clerical occupations, for example, which provide 7.5% of all employment, some 6.7% of employed males are involved but 15.9%

Table 12.5
Occupational Structure of Employed from Refugee Camps-West Bank, by Sex, 1987

Occupation		Total	Male	Female
Agriculture	No.	89	71	18
	% of total	8.3	7.3	16.8
Industry		128	116	12
		11.9	12.0	11.2
Construction		320	320	0
		29.7	33.0	0.0
Services		507	441	66
		47.1	45.6	61.7
	Professional, adm.&clerical	81	64	17
		7.5	6.7	15.9
	Commerce	110	98	12
		10.2	10.1	11.2
	Transportation& storage	49	49	0
		4.6	5.1	0.0
	Others	267	230	37
		24.8	23.7	34.6
Unclassified		32	21	11
		3.0	2.2	10.3
Total		1076	969	107
		100.0	90.1	9.9

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

of employed females work in this sector. This is associated with the fact that the proportion of working women who have higher educational qualifications (31.8%) is nearly double that of males (16.4%; see Table 12.7).

Table 12.5 also shows that 45.8% of employed females are concentrated in commerce and other sevices as against 33.8% of employed males. Together with professional, administrative and clerical occupations, these activities account for more than 60% of female employment but barely 40% of male employment. The biggest single source of employment for males is now the construction sector, which acounts for one-third of all male workers including nearly half of all those working in Israel (see below). About a fifth of all workers are employed in the productive sectors - 8.3% in agriculture and 11.9% in industry. The proportions of males and females in the industrial sector are similar, but agriculture is a significantly more important source of work for women than for men.

12.4.3 Variations by Place of Work:

Table 12.6 crosstabulates occupation with place of work; the data are graphed in Figure 12.2. Of all those employed, 39.9% work in Israel, 36.6% in the cities of the West Bank and only 20.3% in the refugee camps themselves. Of the latter, the great majority (18.9% of all workers) are employed in the camp in which they reside, leaving less than 5% working in other camps or in villages in the West Bank.

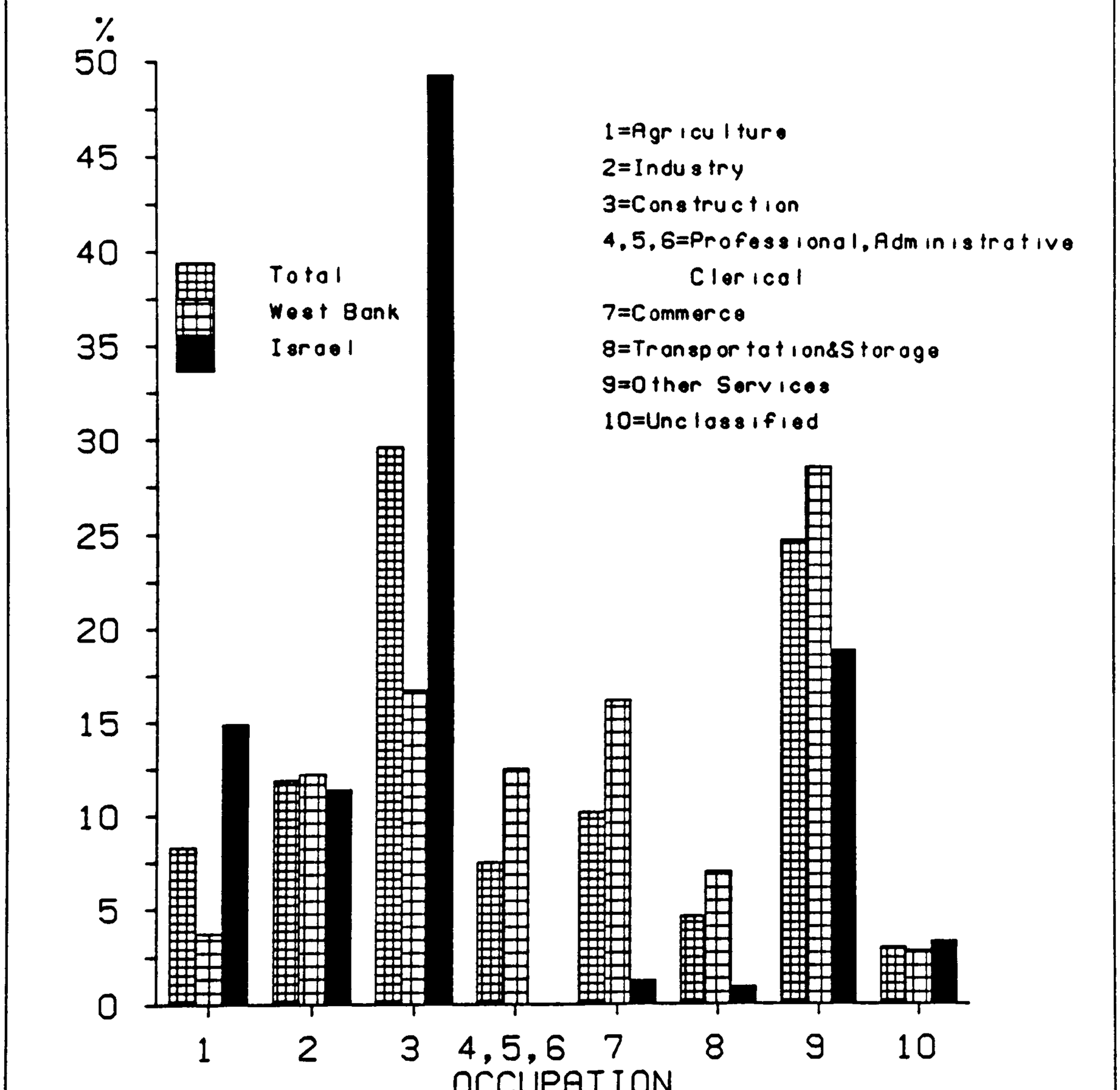
As Table 12.6 shows, within this general situation, there are striking differences between the various occupational groups. At one extreme, there are no professional, administrative or clerical workers from the West Bank refugee camps employed in Israel. This is likely to be due to the political considerations which lead the Israeli authorities to allocate jobs in this sector to Israeli workers, rather than to

Table 12.6
Occupational Structure of the Employed by Place of Work, 1987

Occupation		West Bank					Israel	Total
		Total	same camp	other camp	village	city		
Agricultue	No.	25	0	0	11	14	64	89
	%	28.1	0.0	0.0	12.4	15.7	71.9	
	% of total	3.7	0.0	0.0	31.4	3.6	14.9	8.3
Industry		79	24	0	0	55	49	128
		61.7	18.8	0.0	0.0	43.0	38.3	
		12.2	11.8	0.0	0.0	14.0	11.4	11.9
Construction		108	30	3	5	70	212	320
		33.7	9.4	0.9	1.6	21.9	66.3	
		16.7	14.8	20.0	14.3	17.8	49.4	29.7
Services		417	146	11	17	243	90	507
		82.2	28.8	2.2	3.4	47.9	17.8	
		64.5	71.9	73.3	48.6	61.7	21.0	47.1
Prof.,Adm.&clerical		81	18	5	0	58	0	81
		100.0	22.2	6.2	0.0	71.6	0.0	
		12.5	8.9	33.3	0.0	14.7	0.0	7.5
Commerce		105	56	0	0	49	5	110
		89.8	50.9	0.0	0.0	44.5	4.5	
		16.2	27.6	0.0	0.0	12.4	1.2	10.2
Transport		45	15	0	2	28	4	49
		91.8	30.6	0.0	4.1	57.1	8.2	
		7.0	7.4	0.0	5.7	7.1	0.9	4.6
Others		186	57	6	15	108	81	267
		69.7	21.3	2.2	5.6	40.4	30.3	
		28.7	28.1	40.0	42.9	27.4	18.9	24.8
Unclassified		18	3	1	2	12	14	32
		56.3	9.4	3.1	6.3	37.5	43.8	
		2.8	1.5	6.7	5.7	3.0	3.3	3.0
Total		647	203	15	35	394	429	1076
		60.1	18.9	1.4	3.3	36.6	39.9	100.0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Figure 12.2 Employed Persons by Occupation, and Place of work _ Refugee Camps, 1987



Source: The 1987 Sample Survey

the lower skill levels of workers from the refugee camps; indeed some 12.1% of the latter have institute or university qualifications. 71.6% of all refugee camps workers with such qualifications are employed in the cities of the West Bank and the remaining 28.4% in the refugee camps themselves. At the other extreme, about two-thirds of refugee camps workers in the construction sector and more than 70% of the much smaller number employed in agriculture work in Israel. In the case of commerce, other services, transportation and storage, however, the great majority work within the West Bank.

As Table 12.6 indicates, the cities of the West Bank provide much greater employment opportunities than do the refugee camps or villages. Of the refugee camps population working in the West Bank, some 61% work in the cities, where the majority of economic activities are concentrated. The camps themselves, with their limited economic base and poor infrastructure, provide very limited employment opportunities. Not surprisingly, among those who work in the camps themselves none is employed in agriculture whereas the majority (69.7%) are concentrated in commerce -mostly sellers or shop-keepers on a small scale-, other services and construction. A further 11% are employed in industrial trades or crafts on a small scale, and 7.4% in transportation and storage, mainly as drivers of common vehicles between these camps and the adjacent cities. The existance of UNRWA officies, schools, medical clinics and vocational training centres in the camps account for the fact that 10.5% are employed in professional, administrative and clerical activities.

As a result, there are significant differences in occupational structure between those working in the West Bank and those who find employment in Israel. Among the latter, nearly half are employed in the construction industry and between 10 and 20% each in other services, agriculture and industry. Among those employed in the West Bank, the various service activities are overwhelmingly predominant.

The 1987 survey also revealed significant differences in the occupational structure of males and females who find employment in Israel. Of all females employed, nearly one-third (31.8% or 34) work in Israel as compared to 395 or 40.8% of all males. In case of females, more than two thirds (67.6%) are concentrated in Israeli agriculture and industrial trades; most probably worked in gathering or packing fruits. On the male side, nearly three-quarters (72.7%) are concentrated in construction and services, particularly those associated with tourism.

These differences in the occupational disribution of employees between the two areas may be explained by the varying levels of economic development of both areas, as well as by the differences in wages paid for the same work, as will be seen later.

Thus, some 92% of employees are concentrated in non-agricultural occupations. It has been shown that all the refugee camps' population, in the West Bank, were villagers. This is a further illustration of the artificial existance in refugee camps or the nature of life in exile, where refugees are redistributed in occupations according to the needs of the host countries.

12.4.4 Variations by District:

The sample survey also revealed differences between the three Districts of the West Bank. Compared with the overall average of 39.9%, no less than 59.8% of all employed persons from the Hebron camps work in Israel, as do 42% of those from Nablus but only 30% of those from the Jerusalem camps. Such figures reflect the varying levels of development in the three Districts and the much greater employment opportunities available in the Jerusalem and Nablus Districts than in Hebron. It may also be noted that, among those from the Jerusalem camps working in Israel some 59% are employed in construction as compared with 48 and 46% of those from the

Hebron and Nablus camps respectively, a fact which reflects the employment provided in the building of Israeli settlements around Jerusalem.

12.4.5 West Bank and Syria:

Comparisons can also be made between the occupational structure of the West Bank refugee camps population and that of Palestinian residents in refugee camps in Syria as revealed by the PLO survey of 1985 (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986). Among those from the Syrian camps, nearly one-quarter (22.8%) are employed in professional, administrative and clerical activities as compared with 7.5% of those from the West Bank camps. This is related mainly to higher female participation rates in the Syrian camps and to the high concentration of female workers from the Syrian camps - 43% as against 23.3% in the West Bank- in these occupations. Nearly half of those from the Syrian camps (48%) are employed in industry, transportation and storage, and in construction as compared with 46.2% of those from the West Bank camps. Among those from the West Bank camps, some 10.2% are employed in commerce, 24.8% in other services, and 8.3% in agriculture, whereas these occupations absorbed only 5.8%; 21.7% and 1.7% of those from the Syrian camps, respectively. Such figures reflect the varying levels of development in the two areas. In addition, the occupational structure of employees from the West Bank refugee camps is highly influenced by employment opportunities in Israel, where the labour market absorbed some 40% of them.

12.4.6 Educational Level of Employed:

Table 12.7 crosstabulates the educational level of employed persons with sex and with place of work. 13.7% of all those employed are illiterate, including 12.4% of the males and 25.2% of the females, reflecting the need for many elderly people to work. More than two-thirds (68.4%) have attended school, including 71.2% of the

Table 12.7
Sex&Place of Work of Employed Persons by Educatioal Level, Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Sex		illiterate	school	higher
Males	No.	120	690	159
	%	12.4	71.2	16.4
Females		27	46	34
		25.2	43.0	31.8
Place of work				
Same camp		31	133	39
		15.3	65.5	19.2
Other camp		3	8	4
		20.0	53.3	26.7
Village-W.B		5	25	5
		14.3	71.4	14.3
City-W.B		39	262	93
		9.9	66.5	23.6
West Bank		78	428	141
		12.0	66.2	21.8
Israel		69	308	52
		16.1	71.8	12.1
Total		147	736	193
		13.7	68.4	17.9

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

males but only 43% of the females, figures which reflect both the efforts of UNRWA in providing school-level education and the West Bank refugees' preference for educating their male, rather than their female, children. Barely one-fifth (17.9%) have attended institute or university, but here the position of the sexes is reversed, with 31.8% of the females but only 16.4% of the males in this category. This apparent anomaly in educational attainment of both sexes employed reflecting the need for females rather than the males in certain jobs, for example as secretaries or typists. It has already been shown (Chapter 4) that UNRWA's vocational and technical training centres in the West Bank offer courses in metal, electrical and building trades for males, while the females are offered courses in various skills such as dressmaking, hairdressing and secretarial work. At the time of the 1987 survey, the sizeable majority of females (65.7%) but only a minority (42.3%) of the males are enrolled in institutes (see Chapter 13).

Table 12.7 also shows significant differences in educational attainment between those working in the West Bank and those who find employment in Israel. With increasing qualifications, higher proportions work in West Bank cities (about a quarter of all illiterate employed, but nearly half (48.2%) of those with higher education). With increasing qualifications, higher proportions work in West Bank but lower proportions work in Israel (the latter absorbed some 47% of all illiterate employed but only some 27% of those with higher education). These figures indicate that the West Bank provides much greater employment opportunities to those with higher educational qualifications than does Israel; the latter offers more employment to the less qualified, due mainly to the Israeli need for manual labour.

As already mentioned, of all those with higher qualifications working in Israel (52), none was employed in Israeli professional, administrative and clerical activities. 53.8% were employed in construction, 21.2% in agriculture, 9.6% in industry and 13.5% in other services. This is a further illustration of Israeli attitudes towards

workers from the West Bank and illustrates the limited employment opportunities for the highly qualified, both in the West Bank and abroad.

12.5 Wages:

12.5.1 Variations by Occupation and Place of Work:

We have already noted that, in the early 1970s, wages paid to workers from the West Bank employed in Israel were nearly 25% higher than those paid in the West Bank itself. This is due to the fact that the West Bank economy was, compared with the Israeli, extremely poorly developed, a result of the Jordanian policy favouring economic development in East Bank. In the period between 1950-67, during which the West Bank was considered to be part of the kingdom of Jordan, the Jordanian policy was for industrial development to be concentrated in the East Bank, whilst the West Bank to be developed as Jordan's agricultural storehouse. The higher wages paid for work in Israel, however, led also to scarcity of workers needed for the West Bank labour market particularly in the early years of the Israeli occupation (Ennab, 1979).

The economy of the West Bank is tightly linked with that of Israel on the one hand, and those of the neighbouring Arab countries on the other. Immediately after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967, both Israel and Jordan agreed, for political and economic reasons, to facilitate mobility of the West Bank population, and to allow West Bank exports to pass to other parts of the Arab world as part of the so-called 'opening bridges policy' via the Jordan river. As a result, the West Bank economy benefited not only from the continuation of traditional economic ties with Jordan and the neighbouring Arab countries, but also benefited from considerable Arab aid and from migrant remittances of its own (Ennab, 1979).

Following the war of 1973, the Israeli economy, and of course that of the

West Bank, entered a pronounced recession which led to increased unemployment. Between 1982 and 84, for example, the gross domestic product increased by only 2.2% per annum in Israel and 1.2% in the West Bank (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987). These factors, together with the decline in emigration and the reduced competition for labour in the West Bank, led to a reduction in the wages paid to workers from the West Bank in Israel, so that, by 1985 wages in the West Bank were actually 3% higher than in Israel (Israel Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 1987).

The 1987 survey revealed that, overall, the average monthly wage paid to workers from the refugee camps employed within the West Bank was about 5.9% higher than for those working in Israel. Further details are provided in Table 12.8 and Figure 12.3 which indicate the wages paid by occupation and by place of work. Average wages paid in Israel remained somewhat higher in construction (by 2.6%) and in agriculture (by 2.9%) than those paid in the West Bank. In all other cases, West Bank wages were significantly higher -by as much as 34.9% in the case of commerce, by 18.7% in other services, by 17.4% in industry and by 11.9% in transportation and storage. The relatively high wages paid in the Israeli construction and agricultural sectors reflects a growing distaste among the Israeli labour force for hard manual work.

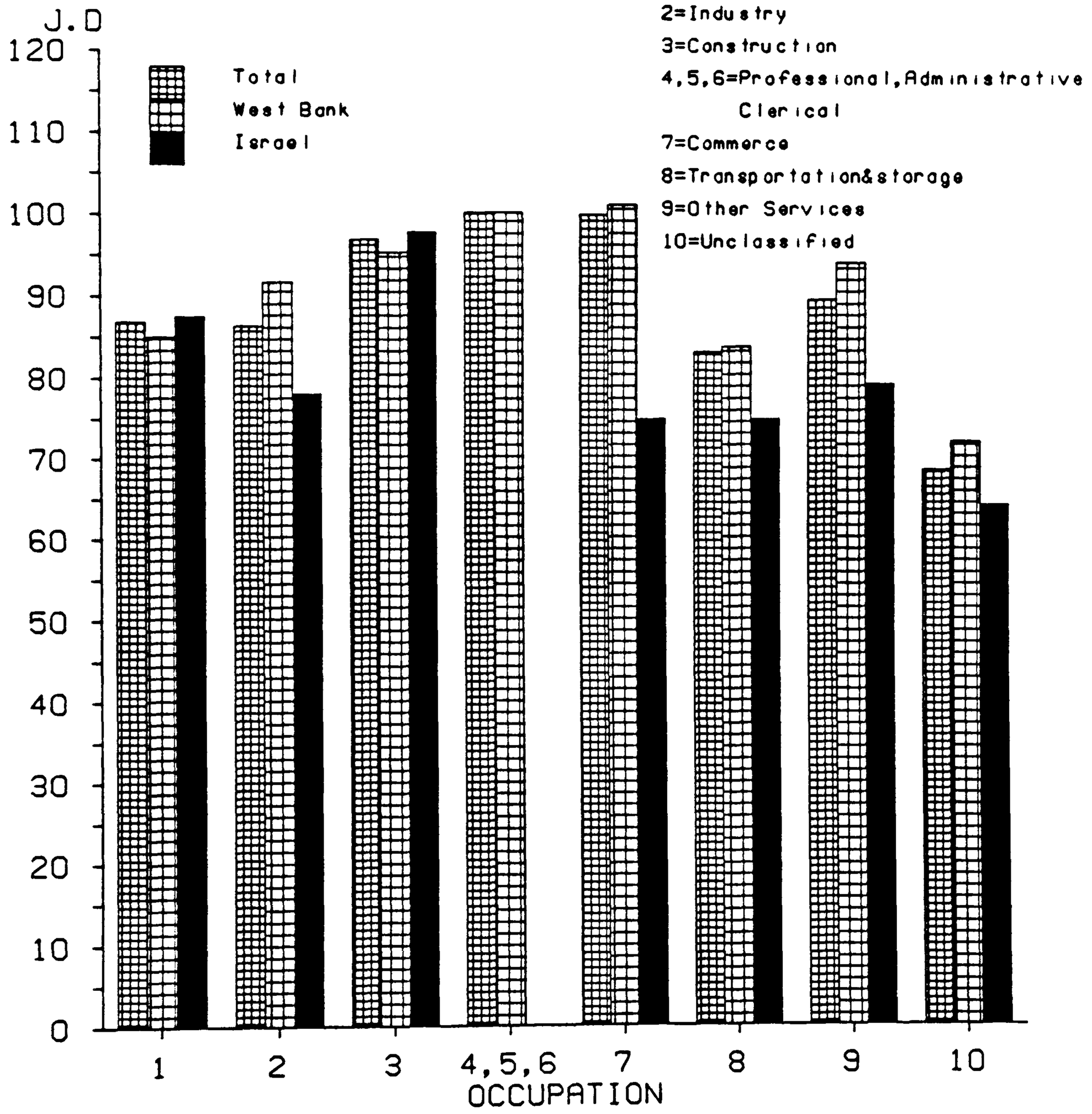
In general, the highest monthly wages are paid for those who work in professional, administrative and clerical jobs (100.3 J.D), and for those employed in commerce (100.0 J.D). Wages were only 97 J.D in construction; 89.6 J.D in other services; 86.8 and 86.4 J.D in agriculture and industry, and 83.2J.D in transportation and storage. As a result, only 17.8% of the total employees of the refugee camps received wages around 100 J.D, while the majority (82.2%) received wages less than 100 J.D.

Table 12.8
Average Monthly Wages for Paid Workers by Occupation and Place of Work, Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Occupation	West Bank					Israel	Total
	Total	same camp	other camp	village	city		
Agriculture	85.0	0	0	84.1	85.7	87.5	86.8
Industry	91.7	87.5	0	0	93.5	78.1	86.4
Construction	95.4	86.7	75.0	75.0	101.4	97.9	97.0
Services	96.0	89.9	97.7	86.8	100.1	78.9	92.9
Professional, adm.&clerical	100.3	102.8	105.0	0	99.1	0	100.3
Commerce	101.2	85.2	0	0	118.9	75.0	100.0
Transportation & storage	83.9	78.3	0	75.0	87.5	75.0	83.2
Others	94.1	93.4	91.7	88.3	95.4	79.3	89.6
Unclassified	72.2	75.0	75.0	75.0	70.8	64.3	68.7
Total	94.3	88.9	91.7	83.6	98.0	89.0	92.2

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Figure 12.3 Average Monthly Wages for Paid Workers, Occupation by Place of work _ Refugee Camps, 1987



Source: The 1987 Sample Survey

12.5.2 Variations by Educational Attainment:

The data collected in the survey show a predictable relationship between educational attainment and wage levels. Illiterates earned, on average, only 89.4 J.D per month, those with only school education 91.2 J.D, those with institute qualifications 95.7 J.D and those with university qualifications 104.8 J.D. The differentials between these groups are, however, remarkably small, revealing the lack of job opportunities for those with higher qualifications, whether working in the West Bank itself or in Israel. Many are obliged to engage in occupations not related to their educational levels or specializations, and this is particularly true of those working in Israel.

Among those working within the West Bank, the highest wages are obtained in the cities. These are higher by 17.3% than those paid in the villages, 10.2% higher than those in the camp of residence and 6.9% above those in other camps. These differentials are greatest in the case of those employed in commerce, whose wages in the cities are 39.6% above those in the camps.

12.5.3 Variations by District:

Once again, there are significant differences between the three Districts with monthly wages to employees from the refugee camps of 95.6 J.D in Jerusalem, 92.1 J.D in Nablus, and only 80.7 J.D in Hebron. These figures are related to the better economic conditions in the first two Districts, and particularly to the large portion of workers from the Jerusalem camps who are employed in Israeli construction works. They are also related to the proportions employed in Israel where, as indicated above, wages are on average nearly 5% lower than in the West Bank. Nearly 60% of the employees from the Hebron camps work in Israel.

12.6 Summary:

A number of points emerge from this discussion of the economic composition of the refugee camps' population. The first is the relatively modest proportion (23.3%) of the total population which is economically active, a result of the very youthful age structure and the low female participation rate (9.5%) resulting from social attitudes towards women working. A second point is that the refugee camps, like the occupied territories in general, appear to provide a reserve of cheap, unskilled or semi-skilled labour for the Israeli economy, filling jobs which are unpopular with the Israelis themselves. At the same time, the opening up of job opportunities in Israel has provided a major source of income for the population of the camps; 38.6% of the total wages paid to their residents are for work in Israel.

To sum up, we can note that the labour force of the refugee camps in the West Bank is characterized by an ill-balanced and unstable structure. This is attributable to a mixture of factors, which can be subdivided into two main groups: Firstly, it is due to their socio-economic background as poor villagers, having no financial capital or experience needed for non- agricultural occupations, especially in the first years of their life in exile, when they mainly worked in marginal or in non-productive, poorly paid jobs, such as pedlers, porters, or on public works. This is, of course, in addition to their attitude towards women's work: females in these camps are still given a marginal role on the economy, and work mainly as housewives.

Secondly, external factors or the economic characteristics of the host countries have their part to play. The poorly developed economic sectors of the West Bank result in a lack of employment opportunities for workers from the refugee camps; they are concentrated mainly within the non-productive sectors, and in jobs needing manual labour in particular. The impact of the Israeli occupation on the economy of the West Bank, and the opening up of job opportunities inside Israel, from July 1968,

led to a high proportion (some 40%) of all employed from the West Bank camps working in Israel, where they are distributed in accordance with the needs of the Israeli economy, and also in accordance to the Israeli political considerations; they are concentrated mainly in the Israeli non-productive sectors. Thus, no great experience is gained from working in either area.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF REFUGEE CAMPS' POPULATION

13.1 Introduction:

The conditions under which UNRWA provides support for the education of Palestinian refugees have already been described in Chapter 4. As pointed out there, these services are provided to the Palestinian refugees in co-operation with the governments in each of the host countries. Thus, the UNRWA education programme for refugees in the West Bank has, since June 1967, been strongly influenced by the attitudes of the Israeli authorities.

UNRWA expenditure on education has increased over the years to reach approximately 70% of its total expenditure in 1986. Education may be viewed as a major contributor to the long-term objective of allowing the refugee population to become self-supporting. The main aim of the educational programme for Palestinian refugees is the preparation of Palestinian youths to serve the economies of the Arab countries in general rather than the needs, goals, and asperations of their own society alone (Abdul Rahim, 1975). For the Palestinian refugees, deprived of a home-land, education has become essential for survival and as an insurance against future insecurity and uncertainty, both in exile and under occupation; and represents a mobile asset that can not be confiscated by any colonizing force (Tahir, 1985).

As already indicated, UNRWA statistics on education refer to refugees as a whole, whether or not they live in camps. The data cover only refugee pupils eligible to receive UNRWA services, which are concentrated on the elementary (6 years, ages 6-12) and preparatory (3 years, ages 13-15) cycles, in both of which education is compulsory, together with vocational and teacher training institutes (2 years beyond

secondary). At the secondary level (3 years, ages 16-18), it provides assistance in the form of grant-in-aid to eligible students attending the government and private schools.

UNRWA's schools provide education for some 61% of the total eligible refugee pupils in the West Bank, while the government and private schools, with financial assistance from UNRWA, admit the others (39%). The capacity of its vocational centres in accepting Palestinian refugees eligible for this form of assistance does not exceed 20% of those who apply for admission, due to the limited financial resources of the Agency.

The 1987 sample survey in the refugee camps of the West Bank recorded the educational status and attainment of all persons aged 6 years (the normal school entry age) and over, whether or not they were officially classed as refugees, whether they were eligible or not for UNRWA assistance, and whether they were enrolled in UNRWA, government or private schools at the time of the survey. The data collected show that 19.4% of the total population of the West Bank refugee camps were below the age of six and that 33.6% were enrolled in education at the time of the survey. Thus, owing to the youthful age structure, more than half the population (53%) are enrolled or expected to be enrolled in the near future.

13.2 Educational Attainment:

In terms of educational attainment, the figures in Table 13.1 show that, of the refugee camps' population aged 15 and over, 22.3% were illiterate, 64.4% had experienced elementary, preparatory or secondary level education, and a further 13.3% had attended institute or university. There were significant differences between the sexes. 32.2% of females were illiterate as against 12.6% of males; 70.7% of the males but only 58% of the females had attended elementary, preparatory or secondary school; 16.7%

Table 13.1
Educational Attainment of the West Bank Camps Population Comparisons 1967 and 1987, West Bank and Syria. *percentages*

Level of Education	Population aged 15+						Population aged 10+					
	1967 (1)			1987 (2)			West Bank (2)			Syria (3)		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Illiterate	37.5	76.4	57.5	12.6	32.2	22.3	10.2	26.7	18.3	9.9	28.5	19.1
School	59.5	23.3	40.9	70.7	58.0	64.4	76.7	65.5	71.1	82.5	68.2	75.5
High	3.0	0.3	1.6	16.8	9.9	13.3	13.2	7.8	10.6	7.6	3.3	5.4

M: Male F: Female T: Total.

Sources:

(1) Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968.

(2) The 1987 Sample Survey.

(3) PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986.

of the males but only 9.8% of the females had attended an institute or university. A variety of factors lie behind these figures: the concentration of UNRWA support in the elementary and preparatory sectors; the greater value attached, in West Bank society, to the education of males and the difficulty involved in raising the necessary capital for higher education. In addition, the preference of receiving countries for emigrants who have achieved higher education levels is likely to have reduced the numbers remaining in the West Bank. The elderly are likely to have been affected by the low level of educational facilities for Palestinians prior to 1948.

The 1987 data, when compared with those from the Israeli census in 1967, (Table 13.1) suggest significant progress in education levels over the past 20 years. According to 1967 census, 57.5% of refugees residing in the camps of the West Bank were illiterate, 40.9% had attended school and only 1.6% had experienced higher education. The sex differentials were even greater than at present. 76.4% of females were illiterate as against 37.5% of males; 59.5% of males but only 23.3% of females had been to school; only 0.3% of females had achieved higher education, compared with 3.0% of males. The progress achieved since 1967 may be attributed to the educational services provided by UNRWA, the establishment of institutes and universities in the West Bank, increased family incomes due largely to employment in Israel, and the greater importance now attached to the education of females. UNRWA enrolment statistics indicate that the proportion of females among the 'refugee' pupils of elementary, preparatory and secondary schools rose from 26.4% in 1950/51 to 48.2% in 1986/87. In the West Bank, female refugee pupils increased from 43.1% in 1967/68 (the first year in which the West Bank is separately identified) to 48.9% in 1986/87 (United Nations, 1988).

Comparative data are available from a survey of refugee camps in Syria carried out in 1985 (PLO Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986). If the same age group (10+) is used in both cases (Table 13.1) there are only slight differences in the propor-

tion of illiterates in the two areas, reflecting the similar socio-economic and historical backgrounds of both sets of Palestinian refugees. However, the proportion with higher education is a good deal greater in the West Bank case, reflecting the establishment of institutes and universities in that area.

13.3 Illiteracy:

Despite the reduction achieved in recent decades, illiteracy - defined here as the inability to read or write in any language- remains high, especially among women and older people. Historical factors are important in this context. In 1940, under the British Mandate, for example, there were 775 Arab and 739 Jewish schools. Set against a population comprising 1,037,162 Arabs and 456,743 Jews, this represented one school for every 1,338 Arabs, compared with one school for every 618 Jews. At that date, only 9.1% of the total Arab population was attending school, compared with 18.1% of all Jews. Jewish pupils numbered 82,601, Arab pupils 93,845 (UK Naval Intelligence Division, 1943). It was also estimated that, in 1940, about a quarter of Moslem children of school age actually attended schools, whereas practically all Jewish and Christian children were receiving education. In the Arab villages of Palestine, about half the boys but only 4% of the girls were at school. As indicated earlier, the current West Bank refugee camp population is wholly derived from Moslem village origins.

The high percentage of illiterate among older Palestinians today is a product of the lack of educational facilities for Arabs under the British Mandate. The inability of the government, 'for financial reasons' to admit all who applied was a permanent complaint of the Arab population; in 1940, for example, of the applicants for admission to the government schools, 56% had to be rejected in the towns and 42% in the villages (UK Naval Intelligence Division, 1943). In 1946/47, only 4.4% of the Arabs who enrolled in elementary schools stayed on to the secondary level (Badran,

1979).

The position changed dramatically after the 1948 exodus as a result of the expanision of educational facilities in the Arab countries to which the Palestinians moved and the provision of educational services by UNRWA. Furthermore, in a situation of landlessness and poverty, education provided a means whereby the refugees could hope to improve their socio-economic status.

Table 13.2 and Figure 13.1 display illiteracy rates (per 100 population) by age and sex as recorded in the 1987 sample survey for persons aged 15 and over. Not surprisingly, the illiteracy rate rises gradually with age, and is much higher among females than it is among males. Nearly 1% of the 15-19 age group are illiterate, including 0.3% of the males but 1.7% of the females. By age group 45-49 half the total are illiterate, including nearly three-quarters (71.4%) of the females but less than one-quarter (22.6%) of the males. Above the age of 50, 67.5% of the total are illiterate, nearly all the females (92%) but less than half (46.8%) of the males. While this is due primarily to the low level of educational facilities for Palestinians prior to 1948, it also reflects the old fashioned social view of female education among the Palestinian villagers in particular.

The higher illiteracy rate among those (both sexes) aged 20-39 years (7.5%), as compared with that of persons aged 15-19 (0.9%), is explained by the limited capacity of both UNRWA and the governmental scools to accommodate students in the early 1950s, and is also explained by the impact of well educated-selective emigration on the 20-39 age group, and possibly also by the needs of poor refugees living in the camps to improve their income, particularly in large families whose older sons are sent out to work at an early age in order to cover their essential needs (Mahshi, 1980).

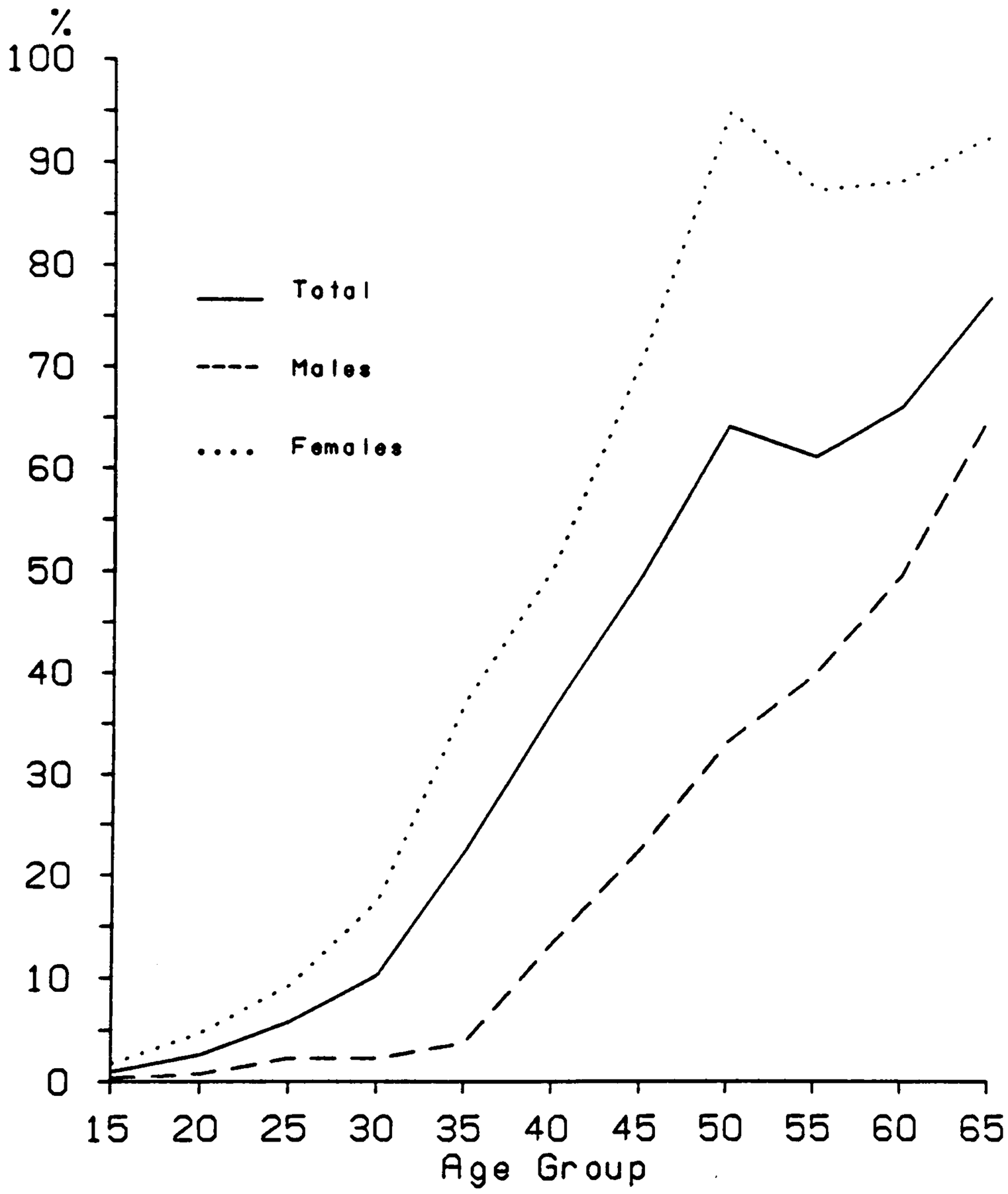
As regards the economic conditions in pre-1948 Palestine, the ill-balanced economic structure of the West Bank after the year 1950, one may note that the job

Table 13.2
Age Specific Illiteracy Rate in Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Age group	Total	Males	Females
15-19	0.9	0.3	1.7
20-24	2.6	0.7	4.7
25-29	5.8	2.2	9.3
30-34	10.3	2.2	17.5
35-39	22.4	3.7	37.3
40-44	36.5	13.4	50.6
45-49	49.7	22.6	71.4
50-54	64.6	33.3	95.5
55-59	61.6	40.0	87.9
60-64	66.7	50.0	88.9
65+	77.5	65.9	93.3
Total	22.3	12.6	32.2

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Figure 13.1 Age Specific Illiteracy Rate in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

opportunities offered to villagers in the period pre-1948, and those offered to refugees in the years after, did not require education (Ennab, 1979). Lack of employment opportunities in the West Bank, and the preference of receiving countries for emigrants who have achieved higher education levels, both have a share in raising the attention given to education, and consequently in reducing the illiteracy rate, particularly among males; the actual productive portion.

In summary, the historical factors, and the socio-economic conditions of the refugee camps' population were responsible for high illiteracy rates among older people and females, while the educational services provided by UNRWA and the host governments have played an important role in lowering illiteracy rates among youths.

Table 13.3

Illiteracy Rate in Refugee

Camps-West Bank, 1987

District by Sex.

District	Total	Males	Females
Nablus	23.8	13.2	34.2
Jerusalem	19.0	11.1	27.5
Hebron	22.9	13.2	33.1
Total	22.3	12.6	32.2

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

The 1987 survey revealed significant differences between the three Districts in the illiteracy rate for both sexes. As Table 13.3 shows, the lowest proportion of both males (11.1%) and females (27.5%) was in the Jerusalem camps, while the highest

proportion of males (13.2%) was in both Nablus and Hebron camps, and the highest for females was in the Nablus camps (34.2%). This is likely to be due mainly to the variation in enrolment rates among populations of the three Districts, which, as will be seen later, are highest in the Jerusalem camps, followed by Nablus, while the Hebron camps recorded the lowest. The illiteracy rates of the Hebron camps, which show no great divergence from those for Nablus, are most probably attributable to the sample size in Hebron (10.2% of the sample population) rather than any other factor.

13.4 School Enrolment:

Enrolment in educational institutions was, of course, among the characteristics recorded for the West Bank refugee camps' population during the 1987 survey. Table 13.4 shows both the crude enrolment rate (of the total population) and the general enrolment rate (of persons aged 6-29; among the 1305 people aged 30 or over in the sample, none was enrolled in education) for both sexes at the District level. Table 13.5 and figure 13.2 give the age and sex enrolment rate which is calculated directly from the number of enrollees at the time of the survey per 100 population of a given age group. In Table 13.6 enrollees of both sexes are classified by level of education.

Table 13.4 shows that one-third of the total population of the West Bank refugee camps was enrolled in educational institutions at the time of the survey, including 35.1% of the males and 31.9% of the females. The general enrolment rate reached 60.7%, including 62.3% of the males but only 58.9% of the females. This is primarily due to the greater value attached to education of males.

Table 13.4

Crude& General Enrolment Rates in Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987. District by Sex.

District	Crude Enrolment Rate			General Enrolment Rate		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Nablus	33.4	35.2	31.6	60.4	62.2	58.4
Jerusalem	35.0	36.3	33.6	62.1	62.8	61.2
Hebron	30.5	31.3	29.5	58.6	61.4	55.5
Total	33.6	35.1	31.9	60.7	62.6	58.9

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 13.4 also shows significant differences between the three Districts in the crude and general enrolment rates for both sexes. The highest crude and general enrolment rates for both males (36.3 and 62.8%) and females (33.6 and 61.2%) were in the Jerusalem camps, while the lowest of both males (31.3 and 61.4%) and females (29.5 and 55.5%) were in Hebron camps. The better social life in the Jerusalem and Nablus Districts, as compared with that of Hebron, may offer pupils, and girls in particular, a better chance for education. In addition, the poorly developed economic sectors of Hebron District results in a lack of employment opportunities, and a lower incomes or wages, as mentioned earlier, another factor likely to affect the enrolment rates of its camps' population.

As mentioned above, no member of the sample population is receiving education beyond the age of 29, a reflection of the shortage of capital which would be needed for continuing their higher education. Table 13.5 shows a rapid decline in ASER. The compulsory education in the elementary and preparatory cycles account

for the fact that some 97 and 94% of those aged 6-9 and 10-14 respectively were enrolled in education at the time of the survey. This ASER of both sexes constituted only 65.8% of all population aged 15-19, and declines even more rapidly beyond the age of 20, where the enrolment rate reaches its lowest level of 1.4% at the 25-29 age group. This is due mainly to the fact that, beyond the preparatory cycle, education is completely a personal decision. This decision, in the West Bank camps, is highly influenced by the greater value attached to the education of males, and also by the shortage of capital needed for higher education.

Table 13.5

Age Specific Enrolment Rate in

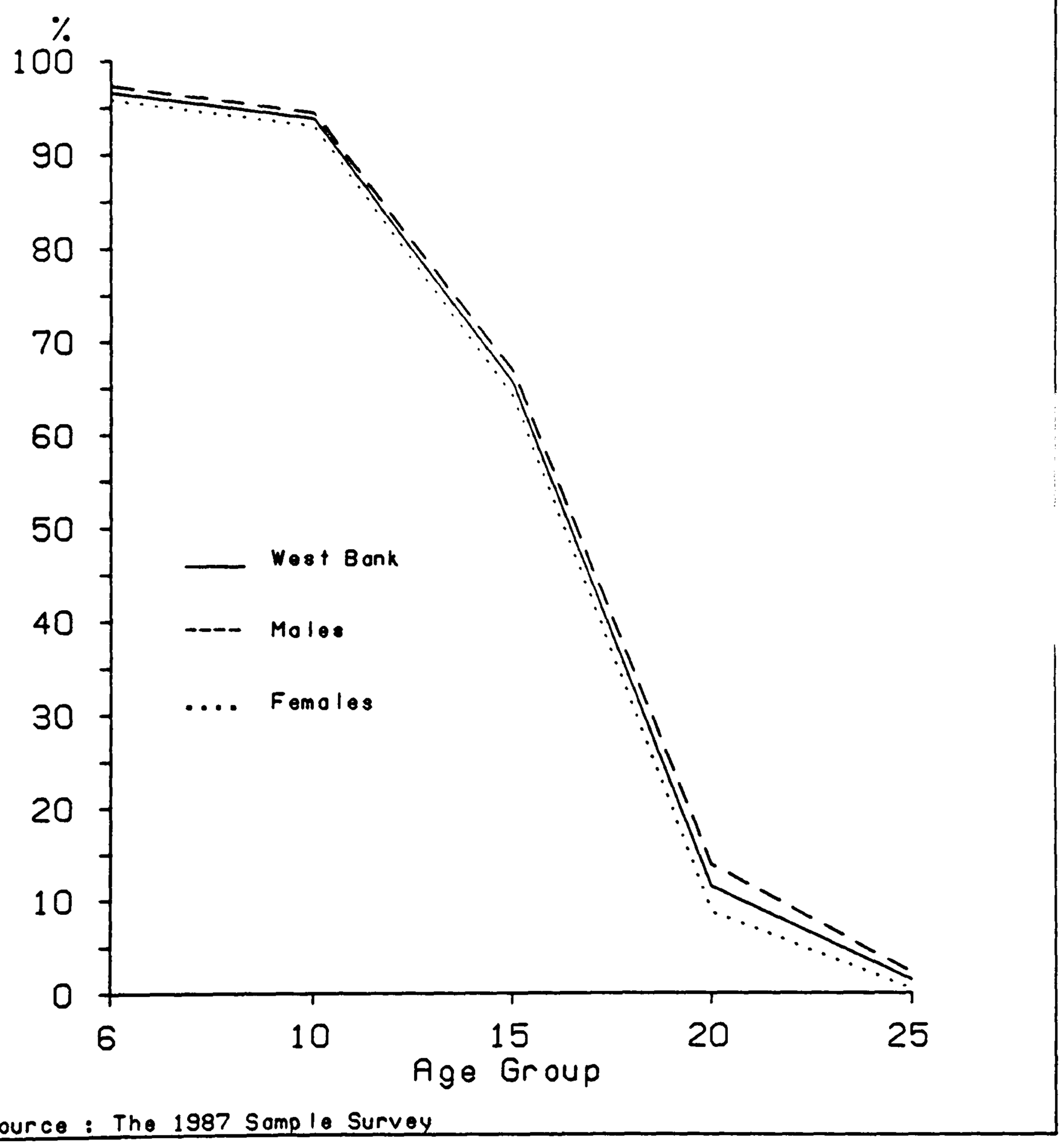
Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Age group	Total	Males	Females
6-9	96.6	97.3	95.8
10-14	94.0	94.6	93.2
15-19	65.8	67.1	64.4
20-24	11.4	13.8	8.7
25-29	1.4	2.2	0.5
Total	60.7	62.3	58.9

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Factors of this kind have played a major role in maintaining a greater attrition rate among females rather than among the males. As Table 13.6 shows, only a half of all enrollees in the elementary cycle stay in school up to the preparatory level, 48% in the case of males and 52.4% in the case of females. Some 26.7% of the males as compared with 22.9% of females stay up to secondary, and less than one-tenth of the total stay up to the institute or university education, 10.4% in the case of males and 8% in the case of females. These figures suggesting the greatest attrition of the

Figure 13.2 Age Specific Enrolment Rate in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987



Source : The 1987 Sample Survey

males occures after their elementary education, while that of the females occurs after their preparatory education level.

Table 13.6

Educational Level of Students Aged 6 Years&

Over in Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Sex		Total	Elem.	prep.	Seco.	Inst.	Univ.
Males	No.	929	502	241	134	22	30
	%		54.1	25.9	14.4	2.4	3.2
	% of total	53.7					
Females		801	437	229	100	23	12
			54.6	28.6	12.5	2.9	1.5
		46.3					
Total		1730	939	470	234	45	42
		100.0	54.3	27.2	13.5	2.6	2.4

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 13.6 also shows that, after the secondary level education, a greater emphasis is placed on the university education of males than of females. The latter are enrolled mainly in institutes. This is largely related to the fact that institute education consists of two years only, and a girl's marriage is expected to occur in a short time. It may also be related to the traditional or conservative view held by many parents who distrust university and coeducation.

Set against the 5151 sample population of the West Bank refugee camps, the number of students who are enrolled in higher education gives an enrolment rate of 1.7% compared with 1.9% for the world total of the Palestinians in 1981/82 (Tahir, 1985). This is largely related to variations in the socio-economic conditions of the Palestinians, which are significantly better among those living outside the camps than

among those living in camps.

The 1987 survey revealed some significant differences in attrition rates among the students of the three Districts which constitute the West Bank. Although the attrition rates of students from the Hebron camps are greater than those of Nablus camps, these rates, with the exception of higher education, are lower in Hebron than those of the Jerusalem camps. In Hebron camps, some 50.6% of the enrollees in elementary level, as compared with 48.7% in Jerusalem, stay in school up to the preparatory, 23.6% in Hebron and nearly the same in the Jerusalem (23.4%) stay up to the secondary. Only 5.7% stay up to institute or university education in the Hebron camps as compared with 7.5% in Jerusalem. These figures seem to suggest a recent increase in the education of children from the refugee camps of Hebron up to the secondary level, while the economic conditions of Hebron camps' population restricts their possibilities to continue thereafter.

13.5 Higher Education: (Graduates)

Results of the 1987 survey indicate that, of a sample population of 5151, only 293 or 5.7% have obtained higher education. A sizeable majority of them (72.7%) have obtained qualifications from institutes. Of these, 79.3% graduated from institutes of the West Bank, and 71.1% graduated in the period 1980-84 and thereafter. It also shows that of all graduates with university qualifications, 43.8% graduated from universities of the West Bank, and 77.6% graduated in 1980 and thereafter. The poor economic conditions of the West Bank refugee camps' population, the concentration of UNRWA support on the institutional education, and the establishment of the West Bank institutes and universities in the late 1970s and thereafter are the most influential factors in producing these figures.

Table 13.7 provided information on the area of specialization, place and

Table 13.7
Population Graduated from Institute or University
Sex by Specialization, Place and Date of Graduation
Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987.

Sex		Total	Area of Specialization				Place of Graduation					Date of Graduation					
			Medical & engineering	Buisness	Natural sciences& Humanities	Other	West Bank	Jordan	Lebanon	Other Arab countries	Non Arab countries	before 1965	1965-69	1970-74	1975-79	1980-84	1985+
Males	No.	189	48	41	99	1	121	42	11	12	3	1	5	21	23	81	58
	%		25.4	21.7	52.4	0.5	64.0	22.2	5.8	6.3	1.6	0.5	2.6	11.1	12.2	42.9	30.7
	% of total	64.5															
Females		104	8	11	82	3	83	19		2			2	7	12	48	35
			7.7	10.6	78.9	2.9	79.8	18.3		1.9			1.9	6.7	11.5	46.2	33.7
	% of total	35.5															
Total		293	56	52	181	4	204	61	11	14	3	1	7	28	35	129	93
		100.0	19.1	17.7	61.8	1.4	69.6	20.8	3.8	4.8	1.0	0.3	2.4	9.6	11.9	44.0	31.7

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

date of graduation for all persons graduated either from institute or university, and reveals the same determining factors operated as with emigrants with these qualifications (see Chapter 9). As the Table shows, some 69.6% graduated from the West Bank, some 20.8% from Jordan, 8.6% from Lebanon and other Arab countries, and only 1% from the non Arab countries. These differences in participation of the various areas are attributable to the costs of education; it is low when living with relatives either in West Bank or Jordan. There were significant differences between the two sexes; some four-fifths of all females but barely two-thirds (64%) of all males graduated from the West Bank; 22.2% of all males and 18.3% of all females graduated from Jordan. Some 13.8% of all males but barely 2% of the females graduated from the other countries. This is largely related to the social restraints on female separation from their parents among the conservative population, in particular.

Table 13.7 shows that, of all persons with these qualifications, only 0.3% graduated in the period before 1965. This proportion increased to 2.6% in 1965-69, and rose even more rapidly thereafter; some 44% of the total graduated in the period 1980-84 and some 31.7% in 1985 and after, a reflection of the establishment of institutes and universtities in the West Bank, the increased family incomes due largely to employment in Israel, and the greater importance now attached to the education of females. The proportion of females experiencing higher education increased steadily after 1965, from 1.9% in the period 1965-69 to 46.2% and 33.7% in 1980-84 and 1985 thereafter, respectively.

The 1987 survey revealed that, before 1970, female higher education was limited to the institutes. It also revealed that the proportion of females who graduated from universities was only 16.3% of the total graduated females in all periods as compared with one-third of males. These differences illuminate the socio-economic conditions in the refugee camps of the West Bank.

Table 13.7 shows that a higher proportion of females (78.9%) than of males (52.4%) specialized in natural sciences and humanities. In the case of males, more than one-quarter specialized in the areas of medicine and engineering as compared with only 7.7% of the females, and more than one-fifth specialized in the area of business studies as compared with only one-tenth of the females. Thus, some 62% of both sexes specialized in natural sciences and humanities, 19.1% in areas of medicine and engineering, and 17.7% in the area of business studies. These areas of specialization are in high demand abroad, and in the Gulf states in particular, or in other words, the preparation of the young people is directed towards serving abroad.

13.6 Summary:

From the above discussion of the educational status of the West Bank refugee camps' population, we can note that their education, as well as that of the Palestinians as a whole, was and still is controlled by others: from the year 1920, when the British Mandate Authorities controlled the educational institutions of the Arab side in pre-1948 Palestine, while that of the Jewish-side was controlled by the Jewish Agency with financial subsidy from the department of education; when the Jordanian government controlled it in the period 1950-67; and latterly when it became, after June 1967, and is still now in the hands of the Israeli occupation authorities. The UNRWA function is in terms of assistance only.

Education of the Palestinians in the period before 1948, was insufficient to meet their needs as a result of which, illiteracy is significant in the older age groups. Only a small proportion receive education beyond the preparatory or secondary levels, due to the inability of UNRWA vocational centres, for example, to accept all 'eligible' students, and due also to the socio-economic conditions in refugee camps, which limit their continuation of study.

Despite the fact that opportunities for female education have improved considerably since 1950, their education is still falls behind, particularly in higher education and in education abroad. Conservative attitudes are still active.

To be convinced that the imporatance of education for the Palestinian refugees lies in it being the only investment that can be handed on to their children, is obviously not enough. Higher education, in particular, needs financial capital which is evidently of a poor level. Higher education in the West Bank or abroad is not free, as compared with education at the schooling levels.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSION

There were three major consequences of political developments in Palestine following the British abandonment of their Mandate in 1948. First, the political map of the Mandate Palestine was replaced by a new one. The United Nations partition resolution for Palestine in 1947 created Israel; a new political, national, demographic, economic and cultural unit, while the subsequent war of 1948 and the 1949 Armistice agreements led to this state exceeding the geographical limits fixed for the Jewish state under the 1947 partition resolution; the territory gained represents some 31% of the present Israel. The geographical units of both the main hilly region and the southern part of the coastal plain of the Mandate Palestine were transfered into political ones after 1948; the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, respectively. Both of these became, in June 1967, and still are, occupied territories held by the Israeli forces.

Secondly, the 1948 war created a new form of Palestinian mobility, namely the forced migration of the Palestinian refugees. This led them to be redistributed in new locations, and new socio-economic environments. Their movement was at first, to the nearest place of safety. As time passed, they moved further afield in search of work or better living conditions. Although all Palestinians living outside the Mandate Palestine have been displaced to their current areas of residence, not all are considered as refugees by UNRWA. Refugee status applies only to those registered as such with the Agency.

Thirdly, a new emergency type of human settlement, namely the refugee camps, was created in the Middle East region, initially, it was assumed, on a temporary basis. However, they now appear to be permanent settlements. The camps inhabitants now include the third generation of refugees, and a fourth generation is

already emerging. The factors underlying the foundation of the refugee camps are quite different from those which applied to the older urban and rural settlements of the West Bank. The location of the camps, rather than reflecting economic needs and opportunities, is wholly artificial being controlled mainly by the availability of sites -most of them are on crown lands- and by the decision of the controlling authorities. Mainly for political and administrative reasons they are for the most part located away from the border or Armistice line and close to urban centres (16 of the 20) and/or first class roads (17 of the 20). Between 1950 and 1966, large numbers of refugees were transfered from their initial place of refuge to official camps established by UNRWA, a movement which reduced the total number of camps from 26 to the present 20. Large-scale movement again occurred as a result of the Israeli occupation in 1967. Considerable numbers left the area, a tend most clearly marked in the Jericho Subdistrict which lost most of its camp population during the 1967 exodus and, later, as a result of the development of Israeli settlements in the lower Jordan valley.

The analysis of the refugee camps' population has revealed the fact that the refugees took shelter in areas close to their place of origin, since 80% of the refugee camps' households in the 1987 survey originated from the central coastal plain, which is adjacent to the West Bank. All the refugee camps inhabitants were villagers, and almost all of them are poor; 17.2% of the camps households have monthly incomes below 50 J.D, 52.5% below 100 J.D, and 81.5% have monthly incomes below 150 J.D.

Some 36% of the refugee camps' heads of households took refuge in eight camps during the period 1948-50, 85% during the period 1948-66. Social ties (41.5%) and forced transfer (33.6%) had far greater influence than economic factors (21.2%) over the refugees' choice of camps in the latter period. The role of economic factors was greater (45.3%) from 1967 onwards. As time passed, these camps came to represent a place of residence for poor villagers originating from the West Bank; 8.9% of the households as compared with 91.1% originating from pre-1948 Palestine.

By the 1980s, the sites of the refugee camps have become fully utilized for habitation, and overcrowding still represents one of the serious problems in these camps. In the 1987 sample, some 93% share a sleeping room with 2 or more persons, and some 24% share a sleeping room with 5 or more persons, even though the room is small. The very small area of the camps, the large proportion of children (44.7%), the large household size (8.2 persons), and the very small area of the house (81.6 sq.m), are the most influential factors in this respect.

Shortage of housing is another feature; 24.8% of all households live in two-room dwellings and 56.4% in three-room dwellings. Inadequate building materials for two-storey houses; 80% of the houses are built of bricks and 85% are one-storied, the terraced-style dwellings with no space between neighbours (69.4%), and the absence of available land for a garden or open space (81%), are all manifestations of the hard housing conditions in the refugee camps, a fact which also is reflected by the inadequate facilities in the houses; 6.4% still depends on public taps in the yards or on water from streams, 19% have no bathroom, some 4% remain with no sanitary facilities, while the majority (64.4%) rely on absorption pits as a temporary solution to the sewage and waste problem, an inadequate solution, creating dangerous public health conditions.

The above conditions reflect the fact that no single camp has undergone a change in its status as merely a refugee camp. This also confirms the poor economic conditions of the refugee camps population and their unhealthy conditions, as well as the low level of UNRWA assistance to the Palestinian refugees. Even though education became the largest item in UNRWA's budget over the years, amounting to 69.6% in 1986, and even though relief, health, and other assistance were provided, this study shows that the capacity of UNRWA's educational institutions is limited, its medical and health services insufficient, water-supplies, and that sanitary disposal of waste is still inadequate in most of the West Bank refugee camps.

The analysis of the population growth of the refugee camps revealed the fact that the unsettled political circumstances in the West Bank have influenced the population growth rate. The Arab-Israeli conflict has been a major influence on emigration, since 46.7 to 49.1% of the West Bank refugee camps population emigrated as a result of the 1967 war, and also since some 37.6% of the emigrants in the 1987 survey were forced to stay outside the West Bank because they have no 'right' to return to the occupied West Bank according to the Israeli usage of the term 'right'. The analysis of emigration from refugee camps has revealed that it is largely a familial emigration; 43.2% of all emigrants in the sample moved to accompany their husbands and fathers. There is a selective emigration of educated males of working age (48.5%). Most have moved either to Jordan (45.8%) and the Gulf states (42.3%).

The study also shows that the only source of population growth in these camps is the natural increase, which also represent the only source of replacement for the 1967 exodus and thereafter. The natural increase rate of the refugee camps population is very high (31.3 per 1000 per annum). This is a result of the high fertility (47.2) and mortality (15.9) levels in these camps. Developments in the socio-economic conditions of the refugee camps population have been very limited and insufficient to produce any significant fertility decline. Fertility was clearly related to economic status and educational attainment. In the 1987 sample, 47.3% of married women were illiterate and the average parity was 8.4 per woman, while for those who attained institute or university education average parity was 0.7, but only 5.2% of the women were in this category. The great majority (93.5%) of married women in the camps were working as housewives; their average parity was 6.2. The average parity of the small number incapable of work was 8.1. Among economically active women, who constituted only 6.5% of the total, the average parity was 4.2. Signs of recent fall demonstrated in the 1987 survey among young educated mothers, for example, can hardly be considered as indicators of fertility trends in the refugee camps; such

indications are possible only from long term studies.

Demographic, socio-economic and environmental circumstances in the camps are major factors in the maintenance of high mortality levels. The IMR, as a critical factor in overall mortality and an index of health status, was 94.65 in the 1987 survey; families with monthly incomes below 100 J.D experience an IMR some 18% greater than those with incomes above 100 J.D. Households with no sewage system experience 18.5% higher IMR than households with sewage pipes, and households without running water inside the house experience 39.7% higher IMR than households with running water inside the house.

Under these conditions of life in the refugee camps, with their low living standards, and the unchanged social conditions, the 1987 survey has revealed the traditional nature of the various population characteristics, of which the most important are:

(a) The very young population, with 44.7% of the sample below the age of 15; a reflection of the high fertility level, which raised the crude dependency ratio to 90.3 dependents. Selective emigration among males of working age has reduced the sex ratio in the middle age groups; some 69% of emigrants aged 30-49 recorded in the survey were males, while the preference for males over females and the social respect for aged males raised the sex ratio for children and aged people. On the other hand, the return migration of old male emigrants is also responsibile for the high sex ratio among the elderly.

(b) The prevailing pattern of marriage is monogamy and highly stable, since 95.5% of currently married males had only one wife, and less than 1% of the ever-married population in the 1987 sample were divorced. The most influential factors are the strong religious and social ties, traditions and customs. Education of the young population has delayed their age of marriage. Another factor was the lack

of job opportunities in the West Bank; two-thirds of graduates remain bachelors.

(c) The high economic dependency ratio (4.3 dependents), since only a modest proportion (23.3%) of its population was economically active. Females in the camps were given a marginal role in the economy (9.5% economically active) resulting mainly from the social stigmas on female employment outside the home; 81.3% of all inactive females in the 1987 sample were housewives. The labour force of the camps is characterized by an ill-balanced and unstable structure. Employment based on the needs of the West Bank, Israel or foreign economies has been the only option for refugees deprived of a homeland; they were all originally villagers, but 92% of the employed in the 1987 sample were concentrated in non-agricultural occupations.

(d) The high illiteracy rate (23.3%), especially among women (32.2%) and older people. The efforts made by the UNRWA and the host governments have played an important role in lowering illiteracy rates among youths, and females in particular. For a large proportion of the population education does not go far beyond the schooling levels by reason of UNRWA concentration on school and institutional education, and also by their poor economic conditions.

The chapters concerned unveiled the fact that emigration has had a profound effect upon population trends in the refugee camps, and thus introduced significant differences regarding the general structural patterns between emigrants and the bulk of refugee camps population. In terms of age-sex composition, the study shows that 70.2% of all emigrants were included in the working age group while this was only 52.5% among the camps population; in the camps, 44.7% of the population as compared with 29.1% of all emigrants were below the age of 15; thus the crude dependency ratio was 90.3 among the camps population as against 42.6 among the emigrants. The selective emigration of males has raised the sex ratio to 130 amog emigrants campared to 105.5 among the bulk of the popoulation. This reached to

225 among emigrants aged 30-49 as against 80.5 among the camps population.

The study has also shown that 77.1% of all emigrants aged 15 or over, as against 54.4% among the camps population, were married. In the camps, 41.7% as compared with 22.7% of emigrants remained single. Among emigrants, the age of marriage for males was higher at 25.3 years than that (23) for the total male population, and also was higher (21) for female emigrants than that (19.5) for the total female population. All married couples in refugee camps are Palestinians; this was only 88.8% among emigrants.

In terms of economic composition, the study showed that 44.2% of all emigrants were employed as compared with 20.9% of the camps population, which has raised the actual economic dependency ratio in the camps to 4.9 dependents as against 2.3 dependents among the emigrants. More than four-fifths of the employed emigrants are concentrated in service occupations as compared with 47.1% of the camps' employed. A large proportion of employed emigrants (35.1%) have worked in professional, administrative and clerical occupations as compared with only 7.5% of the camps' employed. These variations have been influenced by the selective emigration of highly educated persons; 43.4% of emigrants aged 15 or over . Illiteracy was significantly lower (5.8%) among emigrants aged 15 or over than that of the camps population (22.3%).

It is evident from this study that the artificially unstable nature of the refugee camps where refugees live far from their land and property, thus losing the basis for a stable pattern of life, has not allowed for significant changes in the demographic characteristics of their population.

UNRWA has failed to find a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem in terms of the repatriation or compensation formula of the United Nations resolution

194 (III) for December 11, 1948, by reason of Israel's opposition. The arrangements made in 1950 resulted in the return only of 905 dependent family members. UNRWA also has failed in its goal of economic rehabilitation, reintegration and resettlement of the Palestinian refugees in other Arab states, by reason of the refugees themselves rejecting reintegration and resettlement as an acceptable equivalent for loss of homeland. Thus, by the 1950s and the 1960s, the Agency had diverted its responsibility towards the refugees assistance in designing its programmes. Anyway, UNRWA's services to refugees are of too low levels to encourage any major change in the socio-economic and demographic circumstances.

Undoubtedly, the future of this emergency type of human settlement and its population question is a matter wholly related to future the political developments in the Middle East.

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Appendix I

A Sample Survey of the Refugee Camps Population,

West Bank, June-July 1987

Questionnaire

English Translation (Original in Arabic)

Identification of Household

Name of the Camp:

Name of the Subdistrict:

Name of the District:

Serial Number:

Head of Household:

Name of Interviewer:

Date of Interview:

(I) Camp questionnaire

1. Serial number:
2. Name of the camp:
3. Name of the Subdistrict:
4. Name of the District:
5. Camp administration:
6. Date of founding the camp:
7. Land area of the camp: (in dunum):
8. Type of road leading to the camp: a) asphalt
   b) earth
   c) asphalt and earth
   d) others
9. Transportation to the camp: a) taxi
   b) bus
   c) taxi and bus
   d) others
10. Stations in the camp: a) taxi
    b)bus
    c) taxi and bus
    d) none
11. Type of roads inside the camp: a) asphalt
    b) earth
    c) cement
    d) asphalt and earth
    e) asphalt and cement
    f) earth and cement
    g) asphalt and earth and cement
    h) others

Services in the camp:

12. Post office
13. Public telephone

14. Cinema

15. Social-sport club

Health services in the camp:

16. Public clinic

17. Private clinic

18. Fammily planning clinic

19. Child and mother clinic

20. Hospital

Education services in the camp:

21. Type of elementary school: a) male
b) female
c) coeducation
d) male and female
e) none

22. Type of preparatory school: a) male
b) female
c) coeducation
d) male and female
e) none

23. Type of secondary school: a) male
b) female
c) coeducation
d) male and female
e) none

24. Any training centres ?

25. Type of electricity in the camp: a) public
b) private
c) public and private
d) none

26. Is there a sewage system in the camp ?

27. If yes, is the sewage system: a) covered

b) Not covered

28. Any shops ?

a) grocers
b) butchers
c) mechanical repair shops
d) bakers
e) electricians
f) T.V repair shops
g) barber shops
h) other shops, what type:

(II) House questionnaire

1. Serial Number:
2. Name of the camp:
3. Name of the Subdistrict:
4. Name of the District:
5. Type of ownership of the house: a) private
   b) rented
   c) UNRWA
   d) others
6. If rented, how much do you pay every year ? (J.D)
7. Date of building the house:
8. Building materials of the house:
9. Land area of the house: (sq.m)
10. Any gardens near the house?
11. If any, what surface ? (in dunums)
12. Total area of the house: (in dunums)
13. Ownership of the land the house built on: a) private
    b) UNRWA
    c) others
14. How many metres between you and your closest neighbour ?
15. Type of the house: a) one-story
    b) two-storey or over
16. Number of rooms in the house:
17. Number of bed-rooms in the house:
18. Type of lighting in the house:

19. Type of heating in the house:

20. Type of sewage in the house:

21. Water supply in the house:

22. Does the house have a kitchen ?

23. if yes, is it: a) inside the door ?
b) outside the door?

24. if yes, is it: a) shared ?
b) not shared ?

25. Does the house have a bathroom ?

26. if yes, is it: a) inside the door ?
b) outside the door ?

27. if yes, is it: a) shared ?
b) not shared ?

28. Does the house have a toilet ?

29. if yes, is it: a) inside the door ?
b) outside the door ?

30. if yes, is it: a) shared ?
b) not shared ?

31. Does the house have a refrigerator ?

32. Does the house have a washing machine ?

33. Does the house have a cooker ?

34. Does the house have an oven ?

35. Does the house have a sun-bath ?

36. Does the house have a T.V ?

37. Does the house have a radio ?

38. Does the house have a tape-recorder ?

39. Does the house have a telephone ?

40. Does the house have a car ?

41. Where did the family live before the 1948 war ?

42. When did the family arrive in the camp for the first time ?

43. Why did you choose this camp to live in ?

44. Are you registered with the UNRWA ?

45. Does the UNRWA supply you with relief ?

46. Do you receive any assistance from other Agencies ?

47. Total income of the family per month ? (J.D)

(III) Individual questionnaire

Serial number	Name	Relationship to head of household	Sex	Age	Place of birth	Place of previous residence	Place of residence	Religion	Educational Status				
									Attendance at school	Educational level	Specialization	Place of graduation	Date of graduation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1.													
2.													
3.													
.													
.													
.													
20.													

continue...

continued (III) Individual questionaire

Marital status						Economic status					
Marital status	Age at first marriage	Duration of marriage for married divorced and widowed women	Number of marriages	To married males: how many wives in your contract of marriage?	Relationship between wife and husband	Employment status	Occupation	Economic activity	Relation with the employer	Place of work	Monthly income (J.D)
(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)
1.											
2.											
3.											
.											
.											
.											
20.											

continue...

continued (III) Individual questionaire

Economic status		Mortality							
Previous occupation	Employment statement	Has any member of the family died in the last 12 months	Sex of dead person	Age of dead person	Marital status of dead person	Occupation of dead person	Cause of death	Place of death	Dead person's residence
(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)
1.									
2.									
3.									
.									
.									
.									
20.									

continue...

continued (III) Individual questionaire

Fertility: (To ever married women)									
Number of children ever born		Number of children still alive		Number of dead children		In the last 12 months, how many children born to you		How many children died within last 12 months when aged under 1 year	
male	female	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	(41)	(42)	(43)	(44)	(45)	(46)
1.									
2.									
3.									
.									
.									
.									
20.									

(IV) Migration questionnaire

Persons from the household living outside the camp

(1) Is there is any one from the household living outside the camp? 1. Yes 2. No

Serial number	Name	Relationship to head of household	Sex	Age	Place of birth	Place of previous residence	Place of residence	Religion	Does he have the right of reunion permit	How many years since he/she has visited you	Why is he/she living outside the camp	When did he/she emigrate	Does he/she prefer to live in the West Bank
(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
1.													
2.													
3.													
.													
.													
.													
20.													

continue...

continued (IV) Migration questionnaire

Educational Status					Marital status					
Attendance at school	Educational level	Specialization	Place of graduation	Date of graduation	Marital status	Age at first marriage	Duration of marriage for married divorced and widowed women	Number of marriages	To married males, how many women in your contract of marriage	Relationship between wife and husband
(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)
1.										
2.										
3.										
.										
.										
.										
20.										

continue...

continued (IV) Migration questionnaire

Economic status								
Employment status	Occupation	Economic activity	Relation with the employer	Place of work	Monthly income (J.D)	Previous occupation	Employment statement	How much he/she transfers to you each year
(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)
1.								
2.								
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Appendix II

Table 1
Distribution of births recorded in 12 mth's before the 1987 survey in refugee camps- West Bank, 1987. by age of mother and district

Age group	Nablus		Jerusalem		Hebron		Total	
	Female Population	Births	F.P	B	F.P	B	F.P	B
15-19	180	9	91	7	32	2	303	18
20-24	159	34	68	15	27	8	254	57
25-29	115	32	55	18	13	5	183	55
30-34	55	21	37	14	11	4	103	39
35-39	63	20	29	10	10	3	102	33
40-44	70	19	31	8	9	2	110	29
45-49	63	8	31	3	11	1	105	12
Total	705	143	342	75	113	25	1160	243

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 2
Children Ever-Born to Currently Married Women in Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987. by Marriage Duration

Marriage Duration	No. of women	Children ever-born		
		Total	Males	Females
0-4	142	127	64	63
5-9	105	232	118	114
10-14	90	308	159	149
15-19	71	378	193	185
20-24	95	768	397	371
25-29	95	852	440	412
30-34	83	745	382	363

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 3
Children Ever-Born and Children Dead in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987. by Age of Ever Married Women.

Age of women	Female population	Ever married women	Children ever-born				Children dead			Living children			Births in 12 mth's before survey
			Total	Males	Females	Sex ratio	T	M	F	T	M	F	
15-19	303	33	25	13	12	108.3	2	1	1	23	12	11	18
20-24	254	113	141	73	68	107.4	12	7	5	129	66	63	57
25-29	183	125	269	138	131	105.3	31	16	15	238	122	116	55
30-34	103	79	292	151	141	107.1	39	21	18	253	130	123	39
35-39	102	91	629	323	306	105.6	97	51	46	532	272	260	33
40-44	110	106	846	434	412	105.2	137	71	66	709	363	346	29
45-49	105	100	881	450	431	104.4	146	76	70	735	374	361	12

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 4
Children Ever-Born and Children Dead in the Refugee Camps-West Bank, 1987. by Marriage Duration of Ever Married Women.

Marriage Duration	No. of women	Children ever-born				Children dead			Living children		
		Total	Males	Females	Sex ratio	T	M	F	T	M	F
0-4	145	128	65	63	103.2	12	6	6	116	59	57
5-9	106	232	118	114	103.5	25	13	12	207	105	102
10-14	93	308	159	149	106.7	43	23	20	265	136	129
15-19	74	390	199	191	104.2	60	32	28	330	167	163
20-24	103	823	422	401	105.2	136	71	65	687	351	336
25-29	103	911	468	443	105.6	158	82	76	753	386	367
30-34	94	844	435	409	106.4	148	78	70	696	357	339

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 5
Distribution of deaths recorded in 12 mth's before the 1987 survey, by age and sex in refugee camps- West Bank, 1987

Age	Male	Female	Total
0-1	13	10	23
1-4	3	4	7
5-14	2	1	3
15-19	2	1	3
20-39	1	1	2
40-54	2	3	5
55-64	5	3	8
65+	19	12	31
Total	47	35	82

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.

Table 6
Distribution of births and infant deaths recorded in 12 mth's before the 1987 survey in refugee camps- West Bank, 1987. by district

District	Births			Deaths		
	Male	Female	Total	M	F	T
Nablus	73	70	143	7	6	13
Jereusalem	39	36	75	4	3	7
Hebron	13	12	25	2	1	3
Total	125	118	243	13	10	23

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey¿

Table 7
Marital status of the deceased and place of death, by age. in refugee camps- West Bank, 1987.

Age	0-14	15-19	20-39	40-54	55-64	65+
Marital status						
under age of marriage	33	0	0	0	0	0
single	0	3	1	0	0	0
married	0	0	1	4	5	8
widowed& divorced	0	0	0	1	3	23
Place of death						
hospital	10	1	1	0	5	5
home	1	0	1	5	2	6
elsewhere	2	2	0	0	1	0

Source: The 1987 Sample Survey.